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The Ballad of Ram Singh's two Rebellions.

This ballad has been recorded with historical and geographical notes by Mr. J. F. Mitchell, Assistant Commissioner, Kulu, and the text and translation edited by the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey of Wazirabad. Mr. C. H. Donald has supplied the following note on the origin of another version of the ballad :—

"The Ram Singh Ballad was sung to me by three old 'Abdals' of Nurpur, in the Kangra District. One of them, a very old man, informed me that he was then a child, but well remembers the British forces coming into the valley, and his father and two of his uncles were ordered to compose and sing a ballad of the whole proceedings. The names of the three composers are :—

1. Jattu, 2. Dhamán, 3. Billu,—Abdals of Nurpur.

The ballad, so far as they know, or I can discover, was never written down, so no manuscript copy of it appears to be in existence now.

There appear to be several versions of it, as at present sung, to suit the audience, and it is possible that there is more of it (the original), but this is all I have been able to procure.

The 'Abdals' were very loath to give this version, chiefly I think on account of the last line but one of the first verse :—'Thar thar kambeā Baran Sahib, Raja.'

It is said to have been composed very shortly after Ram Singh fell into the hands of the British and at the instance of the British officers, but I think it is much more likely to have been composed at the instance of the Raja of Nurpur, or some of the leading Rajputs of the time."

The Jachh and Dalla Actions.

Rām Siṅgh was born in the house of Shāmā, born in the likeness of God and named "The Bold." [1]

He it was who saved the Rajputs' honour. Well did the son of the Wazir fight.

The Company wrote and sent an order "Do not interfere with the pale-faced soldiers."

General.—I have been unable to discover more detail of the two actions against Ram Singh than are contained in the attached extracts from Barnes' Settlement Report and Burton's Sikh Wars. The ballad consists of four parts: the first, describing the first rebellion and the fight at Jachh; the second, describing the preliminary negotiations, but irrelevantly referring to the Dalla mountain, the scene of the second rebellion. The third reverts to the fighting at Jachh, the subsequent scattering and re-assembling at Shahpur (between the Ravi and the Chakki, now in the Gurdaspur District, but formerly part of the Nurpur tract when the Jullundur Doab was ceded). The fourth, a description of the last fight on the Dalla heights above Shahpur.

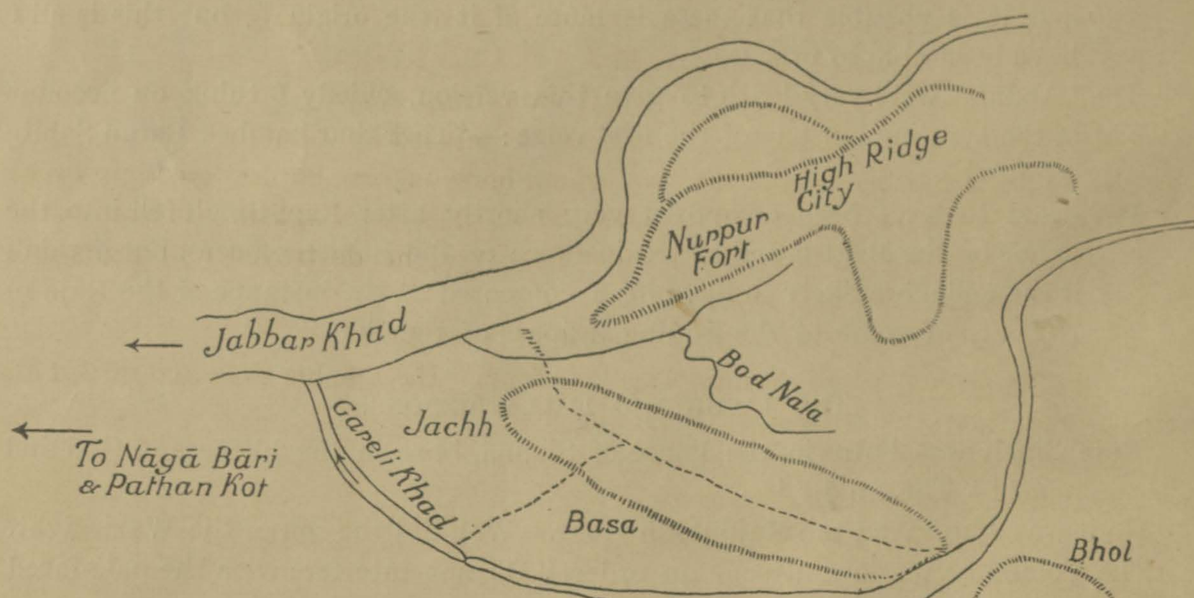
[1] Ram Singh was the son of Shama, Wazir to the Raja of Nurpur.

The Feringhi is a great scourge, he will put you in a cage.
Well did the son of the Wazir fight.
Rām Siṅgh wrote and sent this order "I will fight with the pale-faced soldiers."
All alone well did the Paṭhāṇeā̃ fight.
The armies came up from far Calcutta.
The Wazir came up by way of Bāsa, the Sahib as far as Suriali.[1]
In Jachh was the battle joined, all alone well did the Paṭhāṇeā̃ fight.
Bathed and washed the Raja sits at his prayers, the Brahmans betrayed him and caused his capture whilst at prayer.[2]
Well did the son of the Wazir fight.

* * * * * *

The drums rolled on the heights of Dalla, the regimental tambourines rattled, O people.[3]
All alone well did the Paṭhāṇeā̃ fight.
The Company wrote and sent an order, "Do not interfere with the pale-faced soldiers", Raja,

[1] Inset is a sketch of the scene of the Jachh fight. Suriali or Saliali however lies about eight miles to the north; it is difficult to understand the reference to that place. Ram Singh and that part of the British force which was under Major Fisher had come from Shahpur and an easy road for the forces would have been viâ Danera and thence along the Danera-Nurpur road which passes through Saliali.



The actual fight took place on the ridge between the Bod Nala and the Gareli Khad. Both the end of this ridge and the level land near the Bod, the Gareli and the Jabbar, lie in the village of Jachh. The village of Basa lies S.E. of Jachh running from the top of the ridge down to the Gareli; it is known in the revenue records as Basa Hadialan but is known locally as Basa Waziran; it is now owned by a family of Pathanias all of whom claim descent from Ram Singh.

[2] I cannot trace this reference which is repeated several times to the perfidy of Ram Singh's Brahmans, nor do I know if Ram Singh was captured at the Dalla battle; he was transported in the following February but this was after conclusion of hostilities in the Second Sikh War. Probably the ballad is correct in saying he was captured at Dalla.

[3] Dalle di Dhar. A ridge above Shahpur.

The Feringhi is a great scourge, he will put you in a cage, he will put your house to auction.
Well did the son of the Wazir fight.
Rām Singh wrote and sent an order, "I *will* fight with the Feringhi, I have a claim against the English, my life is a thing of but four days."
Well did the son of the Wazir fight.
He wrote an order to his mother's brothers. He called Jawāhar Singh and Bahādar Singh his mother's brothers.
He called the Kotwāl[1] named Dās, he called Dhiān the Jaryāl.
Called he also Amar Singh, Maṇhās, who bared his sword (and said)
I will try against the armies how my sword works.
Then did Rām Singh backing out go up, in his hand seized his sword which says "kill, kill."
"I will try my strength against armies."
All alone well did the Paṭhāṇeā fight.
Bathed and washed the Raja sits at his prayers, then did the Brahmans betray him and in secret caused his capture.

* * * * * *

Rām Singh was born in the house of Shāmā, born in the likeness of God.
At birth he seized a sword, he made firm (in his heart) a claim against the English. He wrote an order and sent it to Bhol. (*Note.*—Das was the kotwal of the Bhol taluqa) He called Das the Kotwal.
Called he also Jangī, Padhwāḷ,[2] and Tārā Singh Sāhab.
Called Nahangī, the Dhaṇōṭīā, the Dhaṇōṭīā refused (to come).
He called Amar Singh, the Maṇhās, whose horses wear chaplets on their necks.
Amar Singh bared his sword. Come, let us meet the English. The honour of the brotherhood of the faith must be saved, he destroyed four regiments, the streams flow with blood.
Now he moved his camp, and pitched it in Nāgā Bārī.[3]
There he appointed a Brahman for his food. He ate his food and girded his clothes around his waist, the young man.
He said "Wazir, now get you gone anywhere,
Take away some small reward from me."
He bared his sword from his waist.
He girded it on his waist.
He gave orders to his soldiers, and brought his camp to Shahpur.
There he gave orders to his soldiers, loot this city of Shahpur.

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[1] Kotwals corresponded to Zaildars. Das is well remembered as the Kotwal of the Dhar Dhol taluqa lying just S.W. of the scene of the Jachh fight. Bhol is a village in it. The ridge on which the fight took place is the last of the long Dhar Bhol ridge which runs far to the S.W. into Dera tahsil.

[2] Bhadwāḷ or Padhwāḷ, Dhaṇōṭīā, Maṇhās are all tribes of Rajputs.

[3] Nāgā Bārī lies four miles due west of Jachh. It is on the Nurpur-Pathankot road; it is part of a village still belonging to the Raja of Nurpur.

The drums roll on the height of Dallā, the side-drums beat at Kumhaṇ.[1]
The news of you has reached the presence.
Malmal Sahib has come up, raising the outcry as he comes.[2]
He shot an arrow into the hand of Malmal Sahib, and the hand he destroyed.
Malmal's brother Candi Sahib has also come up, as he came he gave a blow; he warded off the blow with his shield and struck his own blow in on the Sahib's head.
They had his body taken to Delhi.
Having stopped (the blow) with his shield he stood it against a corn-bin.
The Feringhees are great kings, they wrote an order, and asked,
The English are great kings, they sell our homes by auction.
They will not let people go alive.
Amar Siṅgh said I have but four days to live.
The Generals and Colonels have come,
In their coming they published by beat of drum,
Cause Rām Siṅgh to be captured, a reward of two thousand rupees to whoever causes Rām Siṅgh to be captured.
Your Brahmans have been deceitful, they enabled the capture when he was seated at prayers.
They put him in a palanquin, and came to Nurpur city.
The Wazir sat down at the tank of Bālā.[3]
A messenger came running,
"Oh Shāmā, your city is put in danger.
You tried your strength against kings,
The English are great kings,
Who place in cages."
As my fate was written so I have received.
My Missar (Brahman adviser) deceived me,
My brother Gopāl Siṅgh came to meet me,
My own true brother deceived me,
The brotherhood give me their assistance.
Who takes my name while I live?
The word of men remains with men (till death),
Mothers' sons fight.
Rām Siṅgh, the Paṭhāṇeā̃, fought with strength.

* * * * * *

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[1] I have not traced Kumhan. It is evidently a place name and probably refers to a hill on the Dalla heights.

[2] Malmal Sahib and Candi Sahib are interesting. The ballad says that the latter was killed and the former wounded. Barnes says that both Peel and Christie were killed. Burton says that Christie was killed and Peel wounded. Could Malmal be Peel and Candi be Christie?

[3] It is not clear if the British brought him to Bāle dā̃ Taḷā as a captive, or whether his friends conveyed him the e secretly. For *taḷā*, tank, we might read *aṭeāḷā*, masonry platform round foot of peepul tree. There is one in Nūrpur.

* * * * * *

Ghar Siāme de Rām Siṅgh jammeā
Jammeā baṛā autārī, jis dā nām rakkheā aṛjaṅg.
Jin rakkhī Rājpūtā̃ dī lāj, baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā,
Likh parwāneā̃ kaumpaṇī bhējdī, Gōreā̃ nāḷ nā chēṛ,
Faraṅgī hai baṛī balā, taikī rakhgī pinjrai pāī,
Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā.
Likh parwāneā̃ Rām Singh bhējdā maī̃ laṛnā Goreā̃ nāḷ
Akailā Paṭhāṇeā̃ khūb laṛeā.
Dūr Kalkatte dīā̃ fōjā̃ caṛhīā̃.
Bāse dā caṛheā wazīr Sureālī tāī̃ caṛheā Sāhab,
Jachh wich pai gaī laṛāī
Akailā Paṭhāṇeā khūb laṛeā.
Nahāī dhoī Rājā pūjā par behndā, Brāhmaṇe cuglī lāī,
Pūjā par dittā pakṛāī,
Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā.

* * * * *

Dalle dīā dhārā ḍafle bajjde,
Palṭṇī khaṛke tambūr loko,
Akailā paṭhāṇeā̃ khūb laṛeā,
Likh parwāneā̃ kaumpa ṇī bhējdī
Gōreā̃ nāḷ nā chēṛ Rājā,
Faraṅgī hai burī balā, taikī rakhgā pinjre pāī,
Terā ghar bār kargā nilām,
Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā.
Likh parwāneā̃ Rām Singh bhējdā,
Maī̃ laṛnā Faraṅgī nāḷ,
Mairā daiyā Aṅgrezā̃ de nāḷ,
Maī̃ jīṇā dihāṛeā̃ cār,
Baiṭā wazīr dā khūb laṛeā
Likh parwāneā̃ māmmeā̃ jo bhējdā,
Saddeā Jawāhar Siṅgh māmmā, saddeā Bahādar Siṅgh māmmā,
Saddeā Dās Kotwāl, saddeā Dhiān Jaryāl,
Saddeā Amar Siṅgh Maṇhās, jinne sūtrī laī talwār,
Maī̃ parkhṇī fōjā̃ de nāḷ,
Mairī kaisī caldī talwār,
Khāī[1] moraṛā phir Rām Siṅgh caṛheā,
Hath pakṛī talwār.
Jehṛī kardī hai mār-o-mār,
Maī̃ parkhṇī hai fōjā̃ de nāḷ.
Akailā Paṭhāṇeā̃ khūb laṛeā.

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[1] Moraṛā khāṇā, to go back on a thing, to back out. This gives doubtful sense.

Nahāī dhoī Rājā pujā par behndā,
Phir bāhmaṇe cuglī lāī,
Phir coreā dittā pakṛāī.

* * * * * *

Ghar Siāme de Rām Siṅgh jammeā,
Jammeā baṛā autārī Rājā,
Jammde ne pakṛī talwār Rājā,
Daiyā baddhā Angrezā̃ de nāḷ Rājā,
Likhī parwānā Bhulī kī bhējeā,
Saddeā Dās Kotwāl Rājā,
Saddeā Jaṅgī Padhwāḷ Rājā,
Saddeā Tārā Siṅgh Sāhabe nū̃ Rājā,
Saddeā Nahaṅgī Dhaṇōṭīā Rājā,
Dhaṇōṭīe ne likkheā jawāb Rājā,
Saddeā Amar Siṅgh Maṇhās Rājā,
Jis de ghoṛeā̃ de gaḷ hār Rājā,
Amar Siṅgh sūtrī laī hai talwār Rājā,
Calo miḷīe Aṅgrezā̃ de nāḷ Rājā,
Rakkhṇī Dharmcāre dī ān Rājā.
Palṭṇā̃ mārīā̃ cār Rājā,
Lahūā̃ de bagde nāḷ Rājā,
Huṇ ḍerā kūc karāyā Rājā,
Ḍerā Nāgā Bārī pāeā Rājā,
Otthe Bāhmaṇ rasoī kī lāyā Rājā,
Khāī lī rasō kas kapṛe ḍhākā par juān Rājā,
Wazīr, tū huṇ kutayō jā Rājā,
Metõ thoṛā deā laī jāo inām Rājā,
Lakkō sūtrī laī talwār Rājā,
Us bannhī laī ḍhākā te juān Rājā,
Otthe sapāhīā̃ kī hukam karāyā Rājā,
Ḍerā Shāhpure de andar āyā Rājā,
Otthe sapāhīā̃ kī hukam karāyā Rājā,
Luṭṭī lo Shāhpure dā shehr Rājā.
Dallai dīā dhārā ḍafle bajjde,
Kumhaṇī kharke tumbūr Rājā,
Terī k̲h̲abar gaī hazūr Rājā,
Malmal Sāhab caṛhī āyā,
Aundeā̃ hallā karāyā Rājā,
Malmal Sāhab de hatthe kī tīr lāyā,
Hatthe dā kītā nāsh Rājā,
Malmal dā bhāī Candī Sāhab caṛhī āyā,
Us aundeā̃ ne phaṭ calāyā Rājā,

Phaṭ ḍhālā par bacāyā Rājā,
Phaṭ Sāhab de sir par bāheā Rājā,
Ohdā deh Dehlī cukāyā Rājā,
Daīkarī ḍhālā dā aṛikkā hāṛe de nāḷ aṛkāyā Rājā,
Faraṅgī hai baṛā bādshāh, Rājā,
Likhī parwānā puccheā Rājā,
Aṅgrēz hai baṛā bādshāh Rājā,
Ghar bār karāndā nilām Rājā,
Jīndeā̃ nehī̃ dindā jāṇ Rājā,
Amar Siṅgh ākhdā maĩ jīṇā dihāṛeā̃ cār Rājā,
Jarnail karnail caṛhī āyā Rājā,
Aundeā̃ ḍhanḍhorā paṭāyā Rājā,
Rām Siṅgh deō pakṛāī Rājā,
Dō hazār rupeā inām jō Rām Siṅgh de pakṛāī Rājā.
Tere bāhmaṇe dagā kamāyā Rājā,
Pūjā baiṭhdā pakṛāyā Rājā,
Bich sukhpāle de pāyā Rājā,
Nūrpur shehr kī āyā Rājā,
Bāle de taḷā par baṭheā wazīr, Rājā,
Ik doṛdā harkārā calā āyā Rājā,
Siāmeā terā shehr aṛāhī bich pāyā Rājā,
Bādshāhā̃ kanne tū zorā lāyā,
Aṅgrēz hai baṛā bādshāh Rājā,
Jehṛā rakhdā pinjre pāī Rājā,
Karm likheā so maĩ pāyā Rājā,
Mere missrai ne dagā kamāyā Rājā,
Bhāī Gopāl Siṅgh miḷṇe kī āyā Rājā,
Sakke bhāī ne dagā kamāyā Rājā,
Bhāīcārā dindā maddat Rājā,
Jīndā laindā kōṇ merā nā̃ Rājā,
Mardā̃ de bōl rehnde mardā̃ nāḷ Rājā,
Laṛde māīā̃ de puttar Rājā,
Rām Siṅgh Paṭhāṇeā̃ zōr laṛeā.

* * * * * *

Barnes's Settlement Report, Para. 89.

At the end of August 1848, Ram Singh, a Pathania Rajput, and son of the Wazir of the ex-Raja of Nurpur, collecting a band of adventurers from the neighbouring hills of Jummoo, suddenly crossed the Ravi and threw himself into the unoccupied fort of Shahpur. (*Note.*—This is the Shahpur now in Gurdaspur District). That night he received a congratulatory deputation from the neighbourhood, and proclaimed by beat of drum, that the English rule had ceased. Dalip Singh was the Paramount

Power, Jaswan Singh (the son of Raj Bir Singh) the Raja of Nurpur, and Ram Singh his Wazir.

* * * * * *

Barnes's Settlement Report, Para. 98.

In January 1849, Ram Singh persuaded Raja Sher Singh to give him two Sikh regiments, each 500 strong, to make a second irruption in the hills. He took up a final position upon the Dula heights. This ridge overhangs the Ravi, and presents towards the plains, the quarter from which an assailing force must proceed, a series of perpendicular blocks of sandstone, varying from 50 to 150 feet high, and each forming in itself a strong and almost impregnable position. The strength of the ground and the disciplined valour of the insurgents made the assault a service of peculiar danger, and Brigadier Wheeler came up in person accompanied by a strong force of all arms. By his skilful dispositions the rebels were driven from their fastnesses with considerable slaughter, and we on our side had to mourn the loss of two gallant officers, Cornet Christie, of the 7th Cavalry, and Lieutenant J. Peel, of the Hoshiarpur Local Corps.

* * * * * *

Burton's First and Second Sikh Wars, Chapter XII.

Ram Singh, son of Shama, one of the hereditary wazirs of Nurpur, crossed the frontier and attacked several posts on the customs line in the vicinity of Pathankot and Nurpur. A force of the 15th Irregular Cavalry and 29th Native Infantry under Major Fisher was accordingly sent against him and crossed the Beas at Katgarh (in extreme S.W. of Nurpur tahsil, L.M.) on the 9th September (1848). Early, on the 10th, Major Fisher marched to Pathankot, where arrangements were made for attacking the rebels who were reported to be in possession of the neighbouring fort of Shahpur. As the force approached that place a body of men was seen on the hill overlooking the fort; these were charged and dispersed by the cavalry. When the party neared the fort, a heavy fire of musketry was opened from the walls, by which a few sowars were wounded. Fire continued until dusk, and during the night the rebels evacuated the fort, escaping by a precipitous path leading to the Ravi, which flowed several hundred feet below.

On the 10th September, Mr. J. Lawrence, Commissioner of the Jullundur Doab, reached Kangra, and on the 13th arrived at Nurpur, when he heard that Ram Singh occupied a long narrow hill in the immediate vicinity of the town. He had perpetrated several dacoities and had written circular letters to the headmen of villages, inviting them to join him. On the morning of the 14th, Mr. Lawrence and Major Fisher reconnoitred the enemy's position and the surrounding country which was difficult. It was found that cavalry could act with difficulty on the south, a wide ravine, interspersed with rice fields, running along that side; on the North the country was much more difficult, being broken in every direction into hundreds of little spurs running out from the main chain on which the insurgents were posted. Reinforcements were brought up, and on the morning of the 19th, Ram Singh and

his followers were dispersed. The force with Mr. Lawrence consisted of 360 men of the 1st Sikh Regiment, under Major Hodgson, of whom 300 attacked on one side ; two companies 29th Native Infantry under Lieutenant Johnston, who went up on another side ; four companies 71st Native Infantry under Captain Rind, and 150 men of the Kangra Regiment under Lieutenant Wallace made a long detour and, mounting the Eastern extremity of the hill, gained possession of the heights. Major Fisher commanded the whole force, and with the 15th Irregular Cavalry guarded the Southern and Western sides of the hill. The casualties amounted to one sepoy killed and 9 wounded ; the enemy sustained considerable loss.

On the 8th January (1849) Brigadier General Wheeler marched from Pathankot against a body of insurgents under Ram Singh, who had taken up a position on the Dalla mountain north of Shahpur. He sent the 4th Native Infantry and a risala of Irregular Cavalry under command of Lieutenant Colonel D. Downing, up the bed of the Chaki river, to take post at the opposite end of the mountain where the ascent was easier than on the Shahpur side. At Shahpur he found that a range of hills had to be crossed to reach the Dalla mountain. He had hoped to avoid this range by marching up the bed of the river Ravi, but it was found that the fords were too deep and the stream too rapid, so a road was made across a gorge which crossed the intervening hills, the work occupying three days. At the foot of the Dalla mountain three days were employed in reconnoitring, and on the 15th and 16th January three columns marched to different points from which a simultaneous attack was made on the latter date. The enemy were driven from their stronghold with considerable loss, 35 bodies being counted. On the British side Cornet Christie, 7th Light Cavalry, and Jemadar Ram Kishan Singh, 1st Sikh Local Infantry, were killed, and Lieutenant Peel, 2nd in command of the latter corps, was wounded.

* * * * * *

The Ballad of Larn Barn of the Kuḷū Naggar Tract.[1]

(*Recorded by* MR. C. H. DONALD: *edited by* REV. T. GRAHAME BAILEY.)

Listen to the tale of Bārn.[2] Larn and Barn consulted[3] together on the heights of Sikandar.[4]

They distributed topas of gunpowder together with handfuls[5] of firewood. Listen to the tale of fighting.

Oh, upon the heights of Dallā, people[6],

Listen to the tale of Barn.

With shiverings and shakings Bhāgsū (Dharmsāḷā) trembled, all Nūrpur trembled.

Listen to the tale of Bārn.

When he came from Naggar to Kāṅgṛā district all orders were merciful (narm),

He gave jagirs to the Rajas.

He maintained the muāfis of the god.

Praise to Larn Barn Sāhib.

He took the records from Lehṇā Siṅgh. He assessed the whole of Kuḷū.

To those who had possession he distributed places.[7]

Listen to the tale of Barn.

Prītam Siṅgh gave leases of land, Barn Sāhib maintained them.

Larn was made organiser, Barn the supervisor.[8]

Listen to the tale of Barn.

The people of Kulu thundered forth "Praise, praise to you sahibs."

He gave rest in all the country of Kuḷū.

Listen to the tale of Barn.

The drums rolled on the heights of Dalla, the side-drums rattled in the centre.[9] The few Gurkhas cleared out, the English came in.[10]

Listen to the tale of Larn Barn.

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1 The context makes it clear that Barn refers to G. C. Barnes, Settlement Officer, of Kangra. It is doubtful whether Larn refers to John Lawrence. Where the two names occur together it may be introduced for the sake of the jingle. If so, in the second line an equally good translation would be Barnes held a consultation (with the local people). In fact it is most unlikely that Barnes and Lawrence ever met on the Sikundur range.

2 See the performance or joke of B.

3 The diglot expression *kaunsal karnā* is used by the most illiterate in the remotest parts, and hence its use casts no doubt on the authenticity of the ballad.

4 Sikandar dī Dhār is a range in Maṇḍi State, just south of the narrow strip of British territory which connects Kangra Proper with Kulu.

5 *Lamp* for *lapp*, handful. *Bondi* should be *baṇḍi*. The copy is obviously very carelessly recorded.

6 This refers to the defeat of Ram Singh on the heights of Dalla between the Ravi and Chakki rivers. Mr. Barnes had been posted to the District in February 1847 and was present at Dalla in January 1849.

7 *Shashan* refers to land granted free by a Raja.

8 The words Intizaman and Mohtamim were probably both new to the local people and could not be replaced by local words.

9 This part is imported wholesale from the ballad of Ram Singh's rebellion.

10 No Gurkhas were engaged in the Dalla action; the MS. is doubtful: *auṇe pauṇe* few; *rote pote*, weeping.

Transliteration of Persian letters: corrections inserted in brackets: Roman printed as pronounced in Kangra.[1]

Gīt Lārn Bārn Sāhb Bahādar alākā Kuḷū Naggar.

Dekho tamāshā Bārn kā, Lārne Bārne kaunsal kīyā, kīyā Sikandar dī dhār,

Ṭope ṭope dārū banḍeā, lamp (lapp) bhar bonḍī (banḍī) sakhērīā̃ (sakrīā̃)[2]: dekho tamāshā laṛne dā.

Aṛe (aṛeā) dīā̃ (omit) Dalle dīā̃ dhārā, loko, dekho tamāshā Bārn kā : tharar tharar (thar thar) Bhāgsū kammeā̃ (kamheā),

Nūrpur kammeā̃ (kamheā) sārā, lōko ; dekho etc : jab āeā Ṭikkar (perhaps Naggar) se zilā Kāṅgṛā hukam narm sāre.

Rāje ko jagrīā̃ (jagīrā̃) dī̃, deote kī muāfī bahāl sārī, dhan dhan sāhb Lārn Bārn kī.

Laihṇā Siṅgh se kāgaz līye, māmlā kīyā Kuḷū sāre kā : jiske raihe hasal (hāsal) shāshan (shāsan) jhiūḷe[3] banḍī dīye sāre, dekho etc. Prītam Siṅghe paṭṭe dīye,

Bahāl rakkhe sāhb Bārn ne : Lārn rahāeā[4] intazāman, Bārn mohtamam, dekho etc. Kuḷū kī raīat garj rehī dhan dhan terī Sāhbo, sukkh dīyā dunyā sārī Kuḷū, dekho etc.

Dalle dī dhār par ḍaphṛe bājde (wajjde), wicc wicc (wajje) tambūr lōko

Rote pote (auṇe pauṇe) Gōrkhīe cal dīye, wicc calle Aṅgrēz, loko, dekho etc.

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[1] All through both ballads plural and singular confused, nasal vowels used for non-nasal.

[2] Sakrīā̃—Panjabi sakk or sakṛe, small chips of wood, or little bits for burning.

[3] Jhiūḷā, place. [4] Rahāeā, causal of raihṇā, remain.

History of Kangra State.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

The kingdom of Jālandhara or Trigarta, at the time of its greatest expansion, previous to the Muhammadan invasions in the beginning of the eleventh century, probably comprised almost all the country betwe enthe Satluj and the Rāvi in the outer hills, except Kulū, and also the Jālandhar Doāb on the plains.[1] At that early period the State seems to have included two great provinces, under the above names, of which the capital was at Jālandhara, with a subordinate capital at Nagarkot or Kāngrā. In somewhat later times its limits were restricted by the foundation of new principalities, either as offshoots from the parent stem, or independent States; like Suket and Bangāhal in the East, and Paṭhānkot or Nurpur on the West. At all times, however, the hold of the State on the outlying portions of the territory must have been of a very loose character, and was probably nothing more than a nominal suzerainty over numerous petty chiefs, called Rānās and Thākurs. That this must have been the case in the eastern part of the State, seems clear from the condition of the country as portrayed in the early records of Kulū, Suket and Mandi, where these petty chiefs held practically independent rule down to a comparatively recent period. As regards the central portion of the State, around Kāngrā, there is not the same clear evidence of such a political condition, in our records; but the existence of many Rānā families in Kāngrā proper, even to the present time, seems to indicate that there too in ancient times numerous petty chiefs wielded power, though probably reduced to submission at an early period. We read of a Rānā of Kiragrāma or Baijnāth in the 12th century, who was counted worthy to intermarry with the royal house of Trigarta or Kāngrā.

After the Muhammadan invasions began, the territory on the plains was lost, and Nagarkot or Kāngrā then became the chief capital[2]; and with the rise of new principalities on its borders at a still later period, the State was probably reduced to the dimensions still obtaining at the time of its extinction in A.D. 1827.

[3]Sir A. Cunningham was the first to draw attention to the history of the royal family of Jālandhar and Trigarta in detail, and the results of his researches are contained in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey, and in the *Ancient Geography of India*. Mr. William Moorcroft had previously noted the existence of the *Vansāvalī* or genealogical roll, which he examined at the court of Rājā Sansār Chand in A.D. 1820. (*Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145).

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[1] Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, Vol. I, p. 137, from which it appears that the kingdoms of Satadru (Sirhind ?) and Chamba may also have formed a part of Jālandhara.

[2] These were—Jaswān, Guler, Sība aud Datārpur, all offshoots from Kangra.

[3] *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, pp. 145 *et seq.* *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 136-141.

As already stated, the original capital was at Jālandhara. According to Cunningham the name of the place is said to have been derived from the famous Dānava, Jālandhara, the son of the Ganges by the Ocean, who is considered the "Father of Rivers."[1] The extract from the *Padma Purāna* on the subject is as follows:—[2] "At his (Jālandhara's) birth the earth trembled and wept, and the three worlds resounded, and Brahma having broken the seal of meditation and having perceived the universe to be lost in terror, mounted his *hansa* (goose) and, reflecting on this prodigy, proceeded to the sea. Then Brahma said, "Why, O Sea, dost thou uselessly produce such loud and fearful sounds." Then Ocean replied, "It is not I, O chief of the gods, but my mighty son who thus roars." When Brahma beheld the wonderful son of Ocean he was filled with astonishment and the child having taken hold of his beard he was unable to liberate it from his grasp; but Ocean approached smiling and loosed it from the hand of his son. Brahma admiring the strength of the infant then said, "From his holding so firmly let him be named Jālandhara," and he further with fondnesss bestowed on him this boon: "Jālandhara shall be unconquered by the gods, and shall through my favour enjoy the three worlds."

"When the boy was grown up Sukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, appeared before his father, Ocean, and said to him, "This son shall, through his might, thoroughly enjoy the three worlds; do thou, therefore, recede from Jambudwīpa—the sacred abode of holy men—and leave unwashed by thy waves an extent of country sufficient for the residence of Jālandhara. There, O Sea, give a kingdom to this youth, who shall be invincible." Sukra having thus spoken, the Ocean sportively withdrew his waves and exposed, devoid of water, a country extending 300 *yojanas* in length, which became celebrated under the name of "the Holy Jālandhara."

[3] Sir A. Cunningham was of opinion that the passage quoted had reference to the physical features of the Indo-Gangetic river plain, of which the plains of Jālandhara form the junction point; and which were once covered by the Ocean: and that the legend of Jālandhara is rather a traditionary remembrance of the curious physical fact than the invention of the Purānic author.

[4] The account of the Titan's death is contained in the *Jālandhara Purāna*, and is supported by local tradition. Cunningham's version is as follows:—"The invincibility of Jālandhara was derived from the spotless purity of his wife, *Vṛinda*, which was overcome by the fraud of Vishnu in personating her husband. The Titan was then conquered by Shiva who cut off his head, but the head quickly rejoined the trunk, and repeatedly regained its wonted place after having been dissevered by Shiva. To prevent this continuous resuscitation, Shiva buried the giant under ground, and so vast was his size that his body covered a circuit of 48 *kos*—or about 64 miles, which is said to be the exact extent of the present pilgrims' route, called

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1 In Hindu mythology the Ocean is usually called the husband, not the father of rivers, which are always personified as female deities.

2 From the *Uttara Kanda* of the *Padma Purāna*. *Researches in Mythology*, Appendix, p. 457, Col. Vans Kennedy, and A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 145.

3 *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol V, Punjab, pp. 145-6, 7, 8.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

Jālandhara Tīrath. But as all the places of note in this line of pilgrimage lie to the north of the Biās river, with the single exception of Kālesar, on its south bank, the city of Jālandhara, which derives its name from the Titan, is most inexplicably excluded from the holy circuit. That this was not the case in former times is quite certain, as the Hindu name of the district, in which the town of Jālandhara is situated, is *Jālandhara-pītha* or Jālandhar's back. The story which I heard in 1846, when I first visited the Kāngrā Valley, placed the head only of the Titan to the north of the Biās, with his mouth at Jwalamukhi, while his body covered the whole extent of country lying between the Biās and the Satluj; his back being immediately beneath the district of Jālandhar and his feet at Multan."

"A glance at the map will show that this version of the legend must have originated in the shape of the country, as defined by its two limiting rivers; not unlike that of the constellation of Orion. From Nadaun to the south of Jwālāmukhi, that is, just below the Titan's mouth, the Satluj and Biās approach each other, within 24 miles, to form his neck. Both rivers then recede from each other, until they are 96 miles apart, at Rupar and Ādinanagar, which form the two shoulders. The two rivers now join at Firozpur, but only a few centuries ago they did not approach each other, nearer than 16 miles, between Kasūr and Firozpur, where they formed the giant's waist, and then ran parallel courses, like a pair of legs down to Multan."

[1] Another version of the legend is as follows: "Jālandhara was a *rākash* or demon who would not allow the Doāb now called by his name, to be inhabited. Bhagwān or Vishnu took the form of a dwarf (*bān-rup*) and killed the demon, who fell upon his face, and the city of Jālandhar was then built on his back. The demon was 48 *kos* in extent, or 12 *kos* in every direction from the middle of his back, that is, from the city of Jālandhar. This was the first place occupied and all others are of later date."

[2] A third version locally current confines the demon's body to the Kāngrā valley. According to it the top of the Titan's head lies under the temple of Nandikeswara Mahādeva at Jindrāngol on the Nigwal river. Between this place and Pālampur the pine tree forest is called *Vṛindāvana* or the forest of *Vṛinda*—after the wife of Jālandhara: the head is said to be under the Mukteswar temple, in the village of Sīensol, 5 miles to the north-east of Baijnāth: one hand is placed at Nandikeswara —that is on the top of the head: and the other at Baijnāth—near the head: while the feet are at Kālesar on the left bank of the Biās river to the south of Jwālāmukhi.

In the *Āīn-i-Akbari* the Jālandhar district is called Bist-Jālandhar, an appellation which, Cunningham thought, may have been suggested to Akbar by the name of Jālandhar-pīth. This is improbable.

The alternative name for the kingdom of Jālandhara in the ancient documents is *Trigarta* meaning, "the land of the three rivers", but the common interpretation of the name, as referring to the Rāvi, Biās and Satluj, is open to question. In those documents the name *Trigarta* is always applied to the Lower Biās valley—that is,

[1] & [2] *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, pp. 147-148.

Kāngrā Proper:[1] and on the whole it seems much more probable that the reference is to the three main tributaries of the Biās, which water the Kāngrā District. These are, the Bānganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite at Haripur, under the name of Trigaḍh, which is the same as Trigaṛ, and fall into the Biās āt Siba Fort. [2] The name *Trigaḍh* was also in use for the Kāngrā State, down to the early part of the 19th century. We may, therefore, assume that *Jālandhara* was the name of the portion of the kingdom on the plains, and *Trigaṛta* of that in the hills; and these names may have been used interchangeably for the whole kingdom. An almost exact parallel is found in the case of the two provinces of Jammu and Kāshmīr in that State at the present time.

[3]Cunningham remarks on this subject as follows:—"The name of Trigaṛta is found in the *Mahābhārat* and in the Purāns, as well as in the *Rājā-taranginī* or History of Kashmir. It is also given as synonymous with Jālandhara by Hema Chandra, who says:—

Jālandharas Trigartah Syuh

"Jālandhara, that is, Trigaṛta."

The *Trikanda Śesha* has:—

Bāhlikāscha Trigartaka

which Lassen renders by,

Bahlici iidem sunt ac Trigartici.[4]

"But here the name should be Bahika, as we know from the *Mahābhārat* that Bahi and Hika were the names of two demons of the Biās river, after whom the country was called Bahika."

It is certainly surprising that in the *Trikāndaśesha* the Trigaṛtas appear to be identified with the Bahlikas or Valhikas, a name by which the Bactrians (Balkh) are indicated. They are mentioned in the Iron Pillar inscription of Delhi. It is however far from certain that Cunningham's emendation is correct. *Bahika* or *Vahika*, is the name found in the Epics to indicate the people of the Punjab. (Sanskrit, *Panchanada*). The word really means "the outsiders," "the aliens," and was evidently a term of contempt used by the inhabitants of the Gangetic Plains to indicate the Panjabis. This is clear from an interesting passage in the *Mahābhārat* (Canto VIII, Chapters 44–45), in which the Bahikas are spoken of with scorn. That the name *Bahika* is derived from the names of two demons, Bahi and Hika, is out of the question. On the contrary these demons have clearly been invented to account for the geographical name; and probably the same is true of the name Jālandhara which more probably was in the first instance the name of a tract of country.

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 140-141.

[2] The name *Trigaṛta* may be translated "the three valleys," the word "*gaṛta*" meaning a "hole" or "pit" or "deep hollow place" with or without water, and therefore a very appropriate term to apply to the deeply cut valleys of the tributaries of the Bias. Thus probably the State came to be called *Trigaṛta*.

[3] *Arch. Survey Reports*, Vol. V, Punjab, p. 148.

[4] *Pentapotamia Indica*, p. 52. At the time the *Mahābhārat* was composed the capital of the Bahikas was at Sakala (Siālkot).

The chronology of Kāngrā State is largely a matter of conjecture. The *Vansāvalī* contains nearly 500 names from that of Bhumi Chand the founder, but of the early Rājās for many centuries we know nothing. The first name which may be regarded as possibly historical is that of Susarman Chandra, the 234th from the founder—called Susarman in the *Mahābhārat*—who is believed to have reigned at the time of the Great War and figures as an ally of the Kauravas. All the names previous to that time we may regard as mythical. Mr. Moorcroft was the first to draw attention to the *vansāvalī* which he saw at the Court of Sansār Chand at Nadaun in 1820. He says:—[1] "Sansār Chand deduces his descent from Mahādev, and has a pedigree in which his ancestors are traced to their celestial progenitor, through many thousand years. I requested to have a copy of the document and some Kāshmīrī Pundits were ordered to transcribe it against my return. The pedigree is written in verse and contains in general little more than the birth and death of each male individual of the family." As we know, Mr. Moorcroft never returned to claim the document which had been promised him.

The great antiquity of the Kāngrā family is undoubted, and we may therefore conclude that in the *vansāvalī* from the time of Susarman Chandra we possibly have to do with an historical record. Sir A. Cunningham says:—"The royal family of Jālandhara and Kāngrā is one of the oldest in India and their genealogy from the time of the founder, Susarma Chandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief, than any of the long strings of names now shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana." Sir Leper Griffin too refers to the Rajput dynasties of the Kāngrā hills, of whom the Katoch is the oldest, as having "genealogies more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world." [2]

The first historical notice of Jālandhara, Cunningham says, is to be found in the works of Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, "where it is called Kalindrine or Ktalindrine, which should probably be corrected to Salindrine, as K. and Σ are often interchanged in Greek manuscripts." Alexander's expedition terminated on the banks of the Biās, but he received the submission of *Phegelas* or *Phegæus*, the king of the district beyond the Biās river, that is of the Jālandhar Doāb. These identifications, however, are very uncertain, and cannot be accepted without clearer proof.

The mountain kings to the north of the Punjab are also referred to by Alexander's historians (B.C. 326). *Cf. Early History of India* by V. Smith, p. 81.

Jālandhara is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature except in the *Hemakosa* (a Sanskrit dictionary); the *Rājā-taranginī* and the *Uttara khanda* of the *Padma Purāna*. *Trigarta* is repeatedly referred to in Sanskrit literature, as in the *Mahābhārat*, where we read of "Susarman, the king of Trigarta," who was the ally of the Kauravas,[3] and attacked Virāta, the king of the Matsyas, with whom the Pāndavas had sought refuge. Apparently the Trigartas and Matsyas were neighbours. Rhys Davids (Buddhist India, p. 27) says:—The Macchas or Matsyas, were to the south of the

[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145. [2] *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 137-8; and *Punjab Ethnography*.

[3] *Vide* Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 193, for mention of *Trigartas* in *Mahābhārat*, and Note 122 which says that they were in the Great War.

Kurus and west of the Jumna, which separated them from the Southern Pañćālas." According to the account in the *Mahābhārat*, Susarman, when about to attack Virāta, marched in a south-eastern direction.[1] The original seat of the family is said to have been at Multan. After the Great War they lost their lands in Multan and retired under Susarman to the district of Jālandhara, where they settled, and built the fort of Kangra.

The history of Trigarta is practically a blank down to the capture of the Fort by Mahmūd, but the references found in the *Rājā-tarangini* and the narrative of Hiuen Tsiang establish the fact that it had existed for six hundred years previous to this, as an independent State.

[2] *Jālandhara* and *Trigarta* are several times referred to in the *Rājā-tarangini*, the earliest mention being towards the end of the 5th century A.D. In the early part of the 7th century Hiuen Tsiang passed through Jālandhara, which he describes as 1,000 *li* or 167 miles in length from east to west, and 800 *li* or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. [3] "If these dimensions," says Cunningham, "are even approximately correct, Jālandhar must then have included the State of Chamba on the north, with Mandi and Suket on the east and Satadru (Sirhind ?) on the south-east. As the last is the only district to the east of the Satluj, which is included in N. India, I infer that it must have belonged to the kingdom of *Jālandhar*. With the addition of these districts, the size of the province will agree very well with the dimensions assigned to it by the Chinese Pilgrim." At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Jālandhar itself was the capital, which he describes as from 12 to 13 *li*, or upwards of 2 miles in circuit. The capital of *Trigarta* was probably at Nagarkot (Kāngrā) from ancient times, but the place is not mentioned in history till the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni, by whom it was captured in A.H. 400=A.D. 1009.

[4] In the *Tārikh-i-Yamīnī*, by 'Utbi, the Secretary of Mahmūd, it is called Bhīmnagar, but Ferishta refers to it as Bhīmkot, or the fort of Bhīm. These names are said to have been derived from the name of a previous Rājā, who founded the fort, and probably the one referred to the fort and the other to the town.

The name *Nagarkot*, however, must also have been in use, probably from early times, and it is mentioned by [5] Abu Rihān (Alberūni—A.D. 1030), who, Cunningham affirms, was present at the siege and capture of the place by Mahmūd. This name also was probably meant to include both the town and the fort. A reference to the place under this name, and evidently drawn from older documents now lost, occurs in Ferishta, in connection with events which are said to have taken place about the first century of the Christian era or even earlier.

[6] An interesting reference to Trigarta is found in two Chamba copper-plate title-deeds granted about A.D. 1050-60, but relating to events which must have occurred in

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[1] *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 138.

[2] *Rājā-tarangini*, Stein, Vol. III, v-100-285. and Vol. IV, v-177.

[3] *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 137.

[4] Elliot's History, Vol. II, p. 34; and *Ferishta*, Briggs, 1908, Vol. I, p. 48.

[5] Alberuni's *India*, 1910, p. 260. Cf. Arch. Geog. of India, p. 140.

[6] *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 186, 194. Cf. *Chamba Gaz.*, p. 76.

the beginning of the 10th century. At that time Chamba was invaded by a tribe called *Kīra*, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumataka (Balōr or Basohlī). In the contest which ensued the allies of Chamba were Trigarta (Kāngrā) and Kulūta (Kulū). This reference is specially important as showing that *Trigarta* was then the name of the tract now called Kāngrā, and under the abridged form of Trigadh or Trigar it continued in use till about a hundred years ago or even less, after which it seems to have fallen into abeyance.

[1] Alberuni also refers to Jālandhar, in the itinerary from Kanauj to Kashmīr, which then ran through the outer hills from Pinjor *viâ* Dahmāla (Nurpur), which is called "the capital of Jālandhar, at the foot of the mountains." From this reference Cunningham conjectured that Dahmāla had been annexed by its more powerful neighbour, Trigarta. It thus seems probable that the whole hill tract as far west as the Rāvī had from ancient times formed a part of the kingdom of *Jālandhara* or *Trigarta*.

In more recent times Trigarta seems also to have been known as *Katōch*, though this name also may be ancient, and from it the clan name of the ruling family is derived. The origin of the name is uncertain. Mr. Moorcroft, who visited Nadaun in 1820, states that the kingdom of Kāngrā then contained three provinces, *viz.* Katōch, Changa, and Pālam. *Katōch* seems to have included the country around and to the west of Kāngrā, and we may perhaps surmise that this was the original nucleus of the state; *Changa*, or more correctly *Changar*, is the name of the broken hilly country to the south of Pālam, and between it and Jwālamukhi; and *Pālam* is the eastern portion of flat land lying between Kāngrā and Baijnāth. As the designation of a separate province or district the name *Katōch* is now disused, but the fact that a hundred years ago it denoted a portion of the State as well as the State itself, seems clearly to prove its geographical origin.[2] Many other derivations of the name have been assigned which may be dismissed as fanciful. The names *Changar* and *Pālam* are still in use for the tracts indicated.

The name *Kāngrā*, meaning "a fortification" or "fortress," is probably of ancient origin, and may have been applied originally only to the fort. Fanciful derivations have been attached to the word, for example, *Kāngarh* meaning "the fort of the ear," pointing to the legend that it stands over the ear of the buried demon, *Jālandhara*; or possibly to the fact that the configuration of the ground bears a strong resemblance to the shape of a human ear. The fort was famed all over India in former times and was regarded as impregnable.

There is yet another name for the capital of the State in some of the old records. In the Baijnāth eulogies, as already mentioned, the name *Susarmapura* is found, and Dr. Buhler has rightly pointed out that it must be identical with Nagarkot or Kot-Kāngrā. The name points to the tradition that the Rājās of Kāngrā are descended from Susarman, the king of Trigarta mentioned in the *Mahābhārat*. In the first Baijnāth Eulogy (I, 31-32) we read of an astrologer named Balhana of Susarmapura and also of an architect from the same place (I, 35-37). Again in the second *Rājā-*

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[1] Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 205.

[2] *Vide* Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140.

taranginī of Jonarāja (Trans., 1898, Vol. III, p. 39) it is related that one Malla Chandra, "belonging to the house of Susarman of Trigarṭa," having been exiled by his enemies, took refuge with Jaya Siṁha of Kashmir (A.D. 1128-1140), and distinguished himself against the Turushkas. Another passage from the same source relates that during an expedition of Shahāb-ud-dīn of Kashmir, A.D. 1363-86 (*vide* Ferishta, Vol. IV, p. 459), "the Rājā of Susarmapura out of fear forsook the pride of his fort, and found a refuge with the goddess." Evidently Kot Kāngrā is referred to and the goddess must be the famous *devī* of Bhawan near Kāngrā.

In the second Baijnāth Eulogy, *Jālandhara* and *Trigarṭa* are used as names of the same country. Jaya Chandra, the overlord of the Rājānaka of Kiragrāma (Baijnāth), is called "the supreme king of Jālandhara" (II. 6), whereas farther on the suzerains of Kiragrāma are designated "kings of Trigarṭa" (II. 20-21) and Kiragrāma itself is said to be situated in Trigarṭa (II. 10). Hṛidaya Chandra is also called "king of Trigarṭa" (II. 18). The names thus indicated a well-recognized territorial area at the time when the Eulogies were inscribed (A.D. 1204).

[1] The earliest reference to Kangra by a European traveller is that of William Finch, A.D. 1611, but he does not seem to have actually visited the place. It is contained in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, and is as follows: "Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck Chand, whose chiefe city is Negarcoat, 80 c. from Lahore, and as much from Syrinan, in which City is a famous Pagod, called Je or Durga, unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idol's feet have found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid, to serve the father of lyes and lyers, however); yea some out of impious piety here sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering; the holyer the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in pains before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves, which, having made their offerings, by dreams in the night receive answers, not departing discontented. They report this Pagan Diety to have been a woman (if a holy Virgin may have that name), yea that she still lives (the Divell shee doth); but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Rajaw is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visit She Selim."

The earliest European visitor to Kangra was probably Thomas Coryat, and on his authority Terry, the Chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, A.D. 1615, refers to the place as "Nagarcot, the chief city so called, in which there is a Chapel most richly set forth being ceiled and paved with plates of pure silver, most curiously imbossed overhead in several figures, which they keep exceeding bright, by often rubbing and burnishing it, and all this cost these poor seduced Indians are at, to do honour to an idol they keep in that chapel.......................... The idol thus kept in

[1] Punjab Hist. Society Journal, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 130.

that richly adorned Chapel, they called Matta, and it is continually visited by those poor blinded Infidels, who out of the officiousness of their dovotion, cut off some part of their tongues to offer unto it as sacrifice, which (they say) grow out again as before"...

" In this province likewise there is another famous pilgrimage to a place called Jallarmakee (Jwālamukhi) where out of cold springs that issue out from amongst hard rocks are daily to be seen continued eruptions of fire, before which the idolatrous people fall down and worship. Both these places were seen and strictly observed by Mr. Coryate." [1]

[2] A somewhat similar description is given by the French traveller Thevenot in A.D. 1666. He says, " They are pagodas of great reputation in Ayoud, the one at Nagarcot and the other at Calamac (Jawālamukhi), but that of Nagarcot is far more famous than the other, because of the idol, *Matta*, to which it is dedicated, and they say that there are some Gentiles that come not out of that pagod without sacrificing part of their body. The devotion which the Gentiles make show of at the pagod of Calamac proceeds from this, that they look upon it as a great miracle that the water of the town, which is very cold, springs out of rock of Calamac, is of the mountain of Balagrate (Bālaghāt), and the Brahmans who govern the pagod make great profit of it."

The story about the sacrifice of some part of the body by the pilgrim is also related by Abul Fazal. He says, " Nagarkot is a city situated upon a mountain with a fort called Kangra. In the vicinity of this city upon a lofty mountain is a place, *Maha Maiy*, which they consider as one of the works of the divinity, and come in pilgrimage to it from great distances, thereby obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes. It is most wonderful that in order to effect this they cut out their tongues, which grow again in the course of two or three days and sometimes in a few hours."

" According to the Hindu mythology *Maha Maiy* was the *wife*, but the learned of this religion understand by this word, the *power* of Mahādeva, and say that she, upon beholding vice, killed herself, and that different parts of her body fell on four places. That the head with some of the limbs alighted on the northern mountains of Kashmir near Kāmrāj, and which place is called Sardha. That some other members fell near Bijapur in the Dakhan, at a place called Talja-Bhawani. That others dropped in the east near Kāmrup, and which place is called Kāmcha, and that the rest remained at Jālandhar on the spot above described." [3]

Nagarkot or Kāngrā is frequently referred to in the works of the Muhammadan historians from 'Utbi (A.D. 1009) and Alberuni (A.D. 1030) downwards, and more especially during the Mug<u>h</u>al period, in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān.

Among European travellers, as already stated, Thomas Coryat was probably the first to visit Kāngrā, in A.D. 1615 ; followed, perhaps, by Thevenot [4] in 1666 and Vigne

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[1] Journal, Punjab Hist. Soc., Vol. I, No. 2, p. 115 ; and Terry, *Voyage to East India*, p. 82.

[2] *Travels*, Part iii, Chap. 37, fol. 62. Cf. A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 167.

[3] Gladwin's *Ain-Akbari*, ii. 109.

[4] It is uncertain if Thevenot actually visited Kangra.

in 1835. Forster in 1783 and Moorcroft in 1820 both passed through the Outer Hills but do not seem to have visited Kangrā.

The origin of the Katoch royal line is lost in the mists of the past. Its claim to great antiquity is fully corroborated by the many offshoots which have sprung from the parent stem, and the great extent of country which formerly owned their sway.[1] "Throughout the lower hills," says Mr. Barnes, "there is scarcely a class of any mark that does not trace its pedigree to the Katoch stock. Four independent principalities—Jaswān, Guler, Sība, and Datārpur—were founded by cadets of the parent line. The fraternity of Sadu Rajputs with their seven Raos or Chiefs, who occupy the Jaswān Valley between Una and Ruper, claim to be descended from the same source. The powerful colony of Indauria Rajputs at the other extremity of the Kāngra district, to the west, boast that their ancestor was an emigrant Katoch. But of the founder of this ancient line we know and can know nothing, for all records of every description have disappeared. Even the infancy of the State and its gradual development are beyond the range of conjecture, and the earliest traditions refer to the Katoch monarchy as a power which had already attained to the vigour of maturity."

As Chandarbansis they bear the surname of *Chandra*, which they profess to have borne from the time of Susarma Chandra, down to the present day. This we know to be correct from the coins, and inscriptions, as well as from the casual mention of some of the princes by Muhammadan historians, and the names can be checked from the 14th century downwards.

The first Rāja according to local legend was not of human origin, but sprang from the perspiration off the brow of the goddess at Kāngrā. His name was Bhum Chand, and he stands as the mythical progenitor of the Katoch line. The two hundred and thirty-fourth chief in lineal descent was Susarma Chand, at the time of the *Mahābhārat*, who ruled in Multan and fought on the side of the Kauravas. On their defeat he is said to have retired to Jālandhar, which he made his capital, and also built the fort of Nagarkot or Kāngrā.

[2] The earliest historical reference, if it can be so regarded, to Nagarkot, is found in Ferishta's History, and it relates to events which are said to have occurred in the first century of the Christian era or even sooner. Where Ferishta got his information we do not know, but it may have been derived from older documents now lost. In his introductory chapter on the history of ancient India he speaks of a king of Kanauj, then probably the paramount power in northern India, who invaded Kumaon and overran the hills as far west as Kāshmīr. In the course of this expedition, which lasted for five months, he subdued 500 petty chiefs, among whom is mentioned the Rāja of Nagarkot. The extract is as follows:—"Rām Deo having subsequently compelled his enemy (the Rāja of Kumaon) to give him his daughter in marriage left him in possession of his country, and marching towards Nagarkot plundered it, and at length arrived at [3] Sheokot Pindi where on account of his veneration for the idol Durga, which is situated at a small distance on the top of

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1 Kangra Gaz., p. 25. 2 Ferishta. *History*, Briggs, 1908, Vol. I, p. lxxviii.

3 Probably the temple of Bhawan in Kangra.

a neighbouring hill at Nagarkot, he halted and summoned the Rāja to appear before him. The Rāja would by no means consent, but agreed to meet Rām Deo at the temple, wherein the idol was placed. Thus the two princes met at the temple, when the Rājā having given his daughter in marriage to the son of Rām Deo, the latter proceeded from there to the fort of Jammu."

The next mention of the country, under the name of *Trigarta*, is in the *Rājātarangini* (III. V. 100) where it is stated that Sreshta Sena of Kāshmīr bestowed the land of *Trigarta* upon the Pravaresa Temple in Kāshmīr. This is referred to the 5th century (A.D. 470); and again about A.D. 520, Pravarasena II is said to have conquered *Trigarta*. (Rājātarang. Stein. iii. 285).

[1] The visit of the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, to Jālandhara in March A.D. 635 is the most important of all the early references to the State. He describes the kingdom of *Che-lan-t'o-lo, i.e. Jālandhara*, as situated north-east of *China-po-ti* (Chinabhukti) and south-west of K'iu-lu-to (Kulūta) or modern Kulū. The position thus described seems to correspond with the Kangra Valley. He remained there as the guest of Rāja Utito for four months before proceeding to Kanauj, and again halted at Jālandhara on his return journey in A.D. 643. Cunningham identifies the Utito of Hiuen Tsiang, with the Adima or Adita of the *Vansāvalī*. Jālandhara was then subject to Harsha Vardana of Kanauj and on his way back from Kanauj the Pilgrim was entrusted to the care and protection of the Rāja of Jālandhara.

A long interval elapses after the visit of Hiuen Tsiang before another historical reference to Trigarta or Jālandhara occurs. It is found in the *Rājā-tarangini*. In the reign of Śankara Varman (A.D. 883-903) an expedition led by the king in person left Kashmir for the conquest of Gurjara (Gujrāt), and it was opposed by the Chief of Trigarta, who perhaps was an ally of Gurjara. The reference is as follows:—"[2] When he (Śankara Varman) who had as the advance guard of his army nine lakhs of foot soldiers, three hundred elephants, and a lakh of horsemen, was wholly bent on the conquest of Gurjara, he caused Prithvī Chandra (the lord) of Trigarta, who was afraid of his own overthrow, to be laughed at in his gloomy delusion. He (Prithvī Chandra) had previously given his son, called Bhubana Chandra, as a hostage, and was come into his (Śankara Varman's) neighbourhood to do homage. Then on seeing the army of the king, with which moved many feudatory princes, as it marched towards him, large as the ocean, and fearing to be captured by it, on its approach he returned and fled far away, failing in resolve."

Though Prithvī Chandra's name is not found in the *Vansāvalī* yet we may accept the above as the record of an historical occurrence, from which it appears that Trigarta was then subject to Kashmir, which had extended its sovereign power as far as the Satluj.

[3] That Kashmir held a widespread dominion in the western hills at that period is proved by two Chambā copper-plate deeds of the middle of the eleventh century

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[1] Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, pp. 130, 564-6-7.
[2] *Rāja-tarangini*, Stein, Vol. V, 143-150.
[3] Chamba Gaz., p. 76. Cf. *Anc. Geog. of India*, p. 90.

already noted, in which a reference occurs to events which must have happened about the beginning of the tenth century,—that is the very time above referred to. Chambā was then invaded by a foreign army, called "Kira" in the Chronicle, most probably Tibetans and Kashmiris, assisted by Durgara (Jammu) and the Saumatakas or people of Vallapura (Balor) to the west of the Rāvi. The Chambā Chief, we are told, had as his allies the lords of Trigarta (Kāngrā) and Kulūta (Kulū), with whose help he defeated the invaders. These references prove that Trigaṭta existed as an independent kingdom for at least six centuries previous to its conquest by Mahmūd of Ghazni.

[1] In the same plates there is a reference to the Turushkas or Muhammadans, who were then engaged in the conquest of Afghanistan, preparatory to an invasion of the Punjab. Kabul fell into their hands in A.D. 870. About twenty years before this (*c.* A.D. 850), the Turki-Shāhi dynasty which had ruled for many centuries over Kabul and the Punjab (descendants of Kanishka) was subverted by the Brahman Wazīr of the last Rāja of the line, named Lalliya or Kalar, who founded the Hindu-Shāhi dynasty, whose later capital was at Waihind or Ohind on the Indus. In the conflicts with the Turushkas, the kings of Kabul and Waihind seem to have had the help of contingents from the Punjab States, probably including Kāngrā and Chambā, for the latter chief is said to have distinguished himself in these wars.

At length about A.D. 980 Peshawar was captured and soon afterwards the last bulwark against the Muhammadans was broken down. Mahmūd of Ghazni succeeded his father in A.D. 997, and in A.D. 1001 invaded India. In his fourth expedition (A.D. 1009) Mahmud, after defeating a large Hindu army on the Indus under the command of Anand Pāl of Waihind and Lahore, advanced into the Punjab, and crossing the large rivers near the foot of the hills, laid siege to Nagarkot.[2] In Ferishta's history we have an account of the expedition, probably taken from the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* of 'Utbi, who was Secretary to Mahmūd. He however was not present at the siege, though Abu Rihān (Alberuni) is said to have been. According to 'Utbi the fort was then called Bhīmnagar from a mythical ancestor of the Katoch family, possibly a former Rāja by whom it was founded, or perhaps from Bhīm Sen the hero of the *Mahābhārat.* Ferishta calls it the Fort of Bhīm and by these two names we are probably to understand the fort and the town. Traditionally the fort is said to have been founded by Susarma Chandra, soon after the time of the *Mahābhārat,* but there are no remains older than the 9th or 10th century. As the fort was famed for its strength all over Northern India and frequent references to it are found in the Muhammadan histories, a full description, from the pen of Sir A. Cunningham, fittingly finds a place at this stage of our narrative :—

[3] "The fort of Kangra occupies a long narrow strip of land in the fork between the Mānjhi and the Bānganga rivers. Its walls are upwards of two miles in circuit,

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1 Elliot's History, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 403 *et seq.* Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 115 *et seq.* The author gives A. D. 970 for the extinctions of the Turki Shahi dynasty and A.D. 1002 for the final conquest of the Peshawar Valley by Mahmud.

2 *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* in Elliot's History, Vol. II, pp. 34-35.

3 A.S.R., Vol. V, pp. 162-3.

but its strength does not lie in its works, but in the precipitous cliffs overhanging the two rivers, which on the side of the Bānganga rise to a height of about 300 feet. The only accessible point is on the land side towards the town, but here the ridge of rock which separates the two rivers is narrowed to a mere neck of a few hundred feet, across which a deep ditch has been hewn at the foot of the walls. The only works of any consequence are at this end of the fort, where the high ground appears to be an offshoot from the western end of the Malekra hill, which divides the town of Kangra from the suburb of Bhawan. The highest point is occupied by the palace below which is a courtyard containing the small stone temples of Lakshmi Narayan and Ambika Devi and a Jain Temple with a large figure of Adinath. The courtyard of the temples is closed by a gate called the *Darsani-Darwāza*, or "Gate of Worshipping" and the gate leading from it to the Palace is called the *Mahalon ka Darwāza* or "Palace Gate." Below the temple gate is the upper gate of the fort, called the *Andhēri or Handēli Darwāza*. This is now a mere lofty arch, but formerly it was a long vaulted passage, which on account of its darkness received the name *Andhēri* or "Dark Gate," which is sometimes corrupted to Handēli. The next gate, which is at the head of the ascent, is called the *Jahāngīrī Darwāza*. This is said to have been the outer gate of the fortress in the Hindu times, but its original name is unknown. Below this are the *Amiri Darwāza* or "Nobles' Gate," and the *Ahini Darwāza* or "Iron Gate," which received its name from being covered with plates of iron. Both of these gates are attributed to Nawāb Alif Khān, the first Mughal Governor under Jahāngīr. At the foot of the ascent and the edge of the scarped ditch there is a small courtyard with two gates called simply *Phātak* or "the Gates," which is occupied by the guards."

The short description in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* (ii. 184-190) of the time of Shāhjahān is also interesting. It runs thus: "That fort (Kāngra) is situated on the summit of a high mountain; it is extremely strong and possesses 23 bastions and seven gateways. The interior circumference is one *kos* and 15 chains, the length, one-fourth of a *kos* plus two chains, the width, between 15 and 25 chains, its height, 114 cubits. Within the fort are two large tanks."

The following reference to the fort is from the *Shash Fat'h-i-Kangra* probably written in the reign of Shāhjahān: "The fort of Kangra is very lofty, and stands on a very high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong: in so much that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient Rājās, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720 (A.D. 1320), or the commencement of Sultan Ghiyasu-d-din's power, to the year 963 (1556 A.D.), when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than fifty-two times by the most powerful kings and rulers but no one has been able to take it. Firoz, who was one of the greatest kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled

all his efforts; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the Rāja, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khan Turkoman entitled Khan-i-Jahan, Governor of the Province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it. To be successful in such a great and difficult task was beyond all expectation; but Providence has destined a time for all works, at which they must be accomplished; and hence it was that the Emperor, notwithstanding all his efforts could not obtain possession. It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahangir, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed."—Elliot's History, Vol. VI, p. 526.

[1] The fort continued to be held by a garrison from the most remote times but had been evacuated some time before the great earthquake of the 4th April, 1905, in which extensive damage was sustained, and it is now only a picturesque and interesting ruin. The people of Kāngrā have a very exaggerated idea of the strength of their fort in former times, which they firmly believe to have baffled the power of the greatest kings. This idea found expression in the following popular saying:—"He who holds the Fort holds the Hills."

Mahmūd was probably attracted by the prestige of the fortress, which was famous all over India, and still more by the fabulous wealth which was believed to be stored within its walls. There are two accounts of the capture, one by 'Utbi in the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, and the other by Ferishta. 'Utbi must have got his information at first hand from those who were present at the siege, on their return to Ghaznī. It is as follows:— [2] "On the last day of Rabi-ul-Ākhir of the same year (A.D. 1009) the Sulṭān prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihind (Und) he was met by Brahman-pāl, the son of Anand-pāl, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell from bows like rain, and the grindstone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear, and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains and hills."

"The Sultān himself (after the battle on the Indus) joined in the pursuit, and went after them (the Hindus) as far as the fort called Bhīmnagar, which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The kings of Hind, the chiefs of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass

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[1] The garrison was finally withdrawn on 1st June, 1897.

[2] *Târikh-Yamini*, Elliot's History, Vol. II, pp. 33, 34, 35; also Appendix pp. 444-5-6-7-8. Ferishta, Briggs translation, Vol. I, pp. 46-7. The invasion probably took place in the winter of A.D. 1008-9, and the capture of Nagarkot in March A.D. 1009.

their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol, that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their God. So the Sultān advanced near to this crow's fruit, and this accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it."

"The Sultān brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it and prepared to attack the garrison vigorously, boldly and wisely. When the defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers, and the arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire, great fear came upon them, and calling out for mercy, they opened the gates and fell on the earth like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning. Thus did God grant an easy conquest of this fort to the Sultān, and bestowed on him as plunder the products of mines and seas, the ornaments of heads and breasts to his heart's content. The Sultān entered the fort with Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad Farīghūni, the ruler of Juzjān, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains, Altuntāsh and Asightigīn, to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property, while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand royal dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again and there was a canopy made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds."

The fort was then consigned to the care of an officer of rank, with a garrison, and the Sultān took his departure for Ghaznī. On his arrival there he caused a carpet to be spread in the courtyard of his palace, on which were displayed all the jewels, pearls and priceless treasures which he had brought from India.

[1] Ferishta's account supplies some additional details; it is as follows:—"The king in his zeal to propagate the faith, now marched against the Hindoos of Nagarkot breaking down their idols and razing their temples. The fort, at that time denominated the fort of Bhīm, was closely invested by the Muhammadans who had first laid waste the country around it with fire and sword. Bhīm was built by a prince of the same name on the top of a steep mountain where the Hindoos, on account of its strength, had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols by all the neighbouring kingdoms, so that in this fort there is supposed to have been a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones and pearls than was ever collected in the royal trea-

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[1] Ferishta, Brigg's trans., Vol. I, pp. 48-49 of 1908.

sury of any prince on earth. Mahmood invested the place with such expedition that the Hindoos had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was away in the field and those within consisted for the most part of priests who having little inclination to the bloody business of War, made overtures to capitulate, and on the third day Mahmood became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed."

"In Bhīm were found 700,000 golden *dinārs*, 700 *mans* of gold and silver plates, 200 *mans* of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 *mans* of silver bullion and 20 *mans* of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bhīm, the details of which would be tedious. With this vast booty Mahmood returned to Ghaznī."

To account for this vast accumulation of wealth, Cunningham supposed that it was the hoard of the Hindu-Shāhi kings of Kābul and Ohind, who also ruled the Punjab. He says:—[1] "There is no means of estimating the value of the ingots as the gold and silver are lumped together, but the value of the stamped coin alone amounted to upwards of £1,750,000. In connection with this great accumulation of treasure I may quote the statement of Abu Rihān (Alberuni) that the genealogical roll of the Indo-Scythian princes of Kābul for 60 generations was found in the fortress of Nagarkot by Mahmud's soldiers. From this statement I infer that the fort of Kāngrā must have belonged to the Rājas of Kābul for several generations, and that it was their chief stronghold, in which they deposited their treasures, after they had been driven from the banks of the Indus. It is almost impossible that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty rājas of the Kāngrā valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kābul. Ferishta calls the amount 700,000 golden *dinārs*, which would be less than half a million sterling; but the account of the contemporary writer 'Utbi, is given in royal *dirhams*, which were silver coins of fifty grains each. We know also that the circulating medium of the Punjab in the time of Māhmūd consisted of the silver pieces of the Hindu rājas of Kābul weighing about 50 grains each. As many thousands of these coins have been found throughout the Punjāb, while not a single gold piece of these kings has yet been discovered, I am satisfied that the treasure obtained by Māhmūd in Nagarkot must have consisted chiefly of the silver pieces or *drammas* of the Hindu rājas of Kābul."

[2] It seems not improbable that Kāngrā Fort may have been in the possession of the Turki-Shāhi and Hindu-Shāhi kings as suggested by Cunningham just as at a later period it was garrisoned for centuries by imperial troops under the Mughals. This would account for the weakness of the defence when assaulted by Mahmūd, as most of the garrison had probably been sent to the frontier. The Rāja of the

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[1] Arch. Survey Report, Vol. V, pp. 155-6.

[2] Al Biruni stated that the names of the Turki-Shāhi princes were recorded on a piece of silk found in the fort of Nagarkot at its capture. They had reigned for sixty generations. Allowing sixteen years to a generation the Turki-Shāhi kingdom may have been founded about B.C. 125, possibly on the overthrow of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Kanishka was the most famous king of this dynasty, which came to an end about A.D. 850. *Vide* Elliot's History, Vol. II, App. pp. 409-410. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 115 to 129.

time is said to have been Jagdes Chand, who was 436th in descent from Bhum Chand, the mythical founder, and 202nd from Susarma Chand, the traditionary founder of the State.

[1] Māhmūd as we have seen left a garrison in the fort on his departure, which probably held possession till A.D. 1043. In that year the Rāja of Delhi, of the Tomara line of Rājputs, in order to arouse the spirit of his countrymen, pretended to have seen a vision. He affirmed that the great idol of Nagarkot, which had been carried off by Māhmūd, had appeared to him and told him that, having revenged himself upon Ghaznī, he (the idol) would meet the Rāja at Nagarkot in his former temple. This story being everywhere accepted, great numbers flocked to his standard and he soon found himself at the head of a large army.

He then marched against Hānsi, Thanesar and other places held by Muhammadan garrisons under Modud, grandson of Māhmūd, and drove them out. Having done so he entered the hills and laid siege to Nagarkot, which after four months was compelled to capitulate, owing to the exhaustion of the food supplies and no relief having come from Lahore.

An idol exactly resembling that which had been carried away was then introduced secretly by night into a garden near the temple, which seems to have been left uninjured or had been rebuilt, and its discovery in the morning caused great rejoicing among the people, who exclaimed that the god had returned from Ghaznī. It was then carried with great pomp into the temple, where it was installed amid the adoration of the people.

This story spread far and near and increased the fame of the shrine to such a degree that devotees came to worship in thousands from all parts of India, and the offerings of gold, silver and jewels presented by them, and the princes of India, are supposed to have nearly equalled the wealth carried off by Māhmūd.

The conquest of the Punjab by Māhmūd was only partial, and we read of no permanent garrisons having been established till A.D. 1023, except that of Nagarkot. Till then the Pāl kings—the last of the Hindu-Shāhi princes of Kabul and Und or Ohind—continued to exercise a nominal rule at Lahore in subjection to Ghaznī, but on the death of Bhim Pāl, the last of his line, the Hindu Kingdom was finally overthrown about A.D. 1026.[2]

How long the Katoch Rājas continued to hold the province of Jālandhara after the conquest of Lahore by Mahmud it is difficult to say.[3] From the *Rājataranginī* we learn that, somewhere about A.D. 1030-40, Ananta Deva, the Rāja of Kashmir, was married to two princesses of the Katoch family, the daughters of "Indu Chandra, lord of Jālandhara," and this is the last reference to the State in the History of Kashmir. The Indu Chandra above mentioned is identified by Cunningham with the Inder Chandra of the genealogical roll, but this is improbable, as Cunningham misread

[1] Ferishta, Briggs trans. 1908, Vol. I, pp. 118-119. Elliot's History, App. pp. 444, 5, 6. Other authorities—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and *Habibu-s-Siyar*.

[2] Elliot's *History*, Vol. II, App. p. 427.

[3] *Rājatarang.*, Stein. trans., VII, 150, 152; and J.P.H.S. Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 127-8.

the date of the Baijnāth Eulogies on which his chronological calculation is based. That date he took to be A.D. 804, whereas in reality it is A.D. 1204. It is clear, however, from the Rājatarangīnī that a Rāja named Indu or Inder Chandra was a contemporary of Ananta Deva of Kashmir in the first half of the eleventh century, though his name is not found in the *vansāvalī* of that time.

In the Odes of Sād bin Salmān called *Diwān-i-Salmān* (Elliot's History, Vol. IV, App. pp. 520-3) there is a reference to the conquest of Jālandhar, an event which may have taken place in the reign of Ibrahīm of Ghaznī (A.D. 1058-89), who was a descendant of Subaktagīn—the father of Māhmūd. It is as follows :—" The narratives of thy battles eclipse the stories of Rustam and Isfandiyār. Thou didst bring an army in one night from Dhangān to Jālandhar. The hills were alarmed, and the clouds astonished. The horses and camels stood ready. They galloped over the narrow road and floundered in the river through the darkness of the night. The clouds around formed thrones of ice, and rivulets of blood flowed in all the ravines. The standards were flying and the spears had their heads as sharp as thorns; and the army of the Magog of mercy made firm his tents upon the hills in a line like the wall of Alexander. Thou remainedst but a short time on the top of the hills, thou wert but a moment involved in the narrow defiles. Thou didst direct but one assault and by that alone brought destruction on the country. By the morning meal not one soldier, not one Brahman remained unkilled or uncaptured. Their heads were severed by the carriers of swords. Their houses were levelled with the ground by the flaming fire. A fleet messenger came from Dhangān, announcing that ten thousand turbulent people, horse and foot, had collected. Thou didst take the road by night, and wast surrounded by gallant warriors. The enemy's heart quailed because of thy coming. Thou didst pass on without stopping with thy foot soldiers, like the wind. Thou didst proceed till the noise of the clarions of Sair Sambra arose, which might have been said to proclaim his despair, and was responded to by those of Bu Nasr Parsi which announced thy victory to all quarters. He fled unto the river Rawa at dread of thy approach; and there he was drowned and descended into the infernal regions, and well do I know that this end must have been less appalling than the daily fear which he entertained of the destruction which awaited him. Henceforth thou shouldst consider that the Rawa had done thee service and it should be reckoned as one devoted to thy will. If such a place be conquered during this winter, I will guarantee the conquest of every village near Jālandhar. I am the meanest of slaves and hold but an exceedingly small office, but make thou over to me the accomplishment of this business. The *rais* and soldiers will not dare to revolt, and *rajas* from fear of thee will proffer their allegiance. By the help of God, and by the force of thy prosperity, will I extirpate the practices of idolatry from this country. I will make the slain kiss the earth to the very gate of the fort. I will make a string of slaves kiss the earth to the banks of the Rawa.... Thou hast secured victory to thy country and thy religion, for amongst the Hindus this achievement will be remembered till the day of resurrection." There is a wildness and want of connexion in this Ode, which renders its precise meaning doubtful, but it is interesting as

noticing the capture of Dhangān and Jālandhar. The latter place is well known but has not before been noticed in Muhammadan annals. The position of the former is doubtful, but the description shows that it must have been far within the hills. These conquests appear to have been effected in the time of Ibrahim, and it seems not improbable that the reference given points to the fall of Jālandhar before the Muhammadan arms and the loss by the Rājas of Trigarta of their possessions on the plains, which may have taken place about A.D. 1070.

[1] As has been stated, Mahmūd left a garrison in the fort which was expelled in A.D. 1043. In A.D. 1051-2, Abul Rashīd, a son of Mahmūd, who had come into power, appointed Hashtagīn Hajib Governor of the Punjab, and on the latter learning of the capture of the fort by the Hindus, he advanced and laid siege to the place which was taken by escalade on the sixth day. That the stronghold remained long in Muhammadan hands is improbable. Though cowed for a time, the spirit of the Rājput princes soon revived, and they made a determined struggle to regain the territories which had been wrested from them.

That the Kāngra Rājas were successful in recovering the fort is therefore highly probable, and we may conclude that from about A.D. 1060-70 onwards for nearly 300 years it remained in their possession. Till about A.D. 1070 the State continued undivided under one head. The Rāja of the time is said to have been Padam Chand, and his younger brother Parab Chand, then broke away from the parent stem and founded the State of Jaswāṇ—in the Jaswāṇ Dun, now in Hoshyārpur district.

It is probable however that the separation took place at a still earlier period, of which no record has come down to us, and that the State—originally only a fief of Kangra—became independent in the disturbed times following on the Muhammadan invasions of the Punjab. "Many centuries ago," says Mr. Barnes, "so long ago that all consanguinity has ceased, and intermarriages take place among a people to whom marriage with blood relations is a heinous crime—a member of the Katoch family severed himself from Kāngra and set up an independent state in Jaswān."[2]

For nearly 200 years after Mahmūd the Muhmmadans were unable to advance their frontier much beyond the Satluj. To the south they were opposed by the Rājas of Dehli of the Tomara line of Rājputs—under whose banner all the feudatory and confederate chiefs of northern India marched to battle. In the *Prithi Rāj Charitra* by the Bard Chand, which deals with the last times of the Hindu Kingdom of Delhi, we find "Kāngra and its mountain chiefs" included among those who were summoned by Anang Pāl III—the last of the line—to follow his standard to the field.[3] Dying childless he was succeeded by Prithi Rāj Chauhān of Ajmer—his younger daughter's son—about A.D. 1171.

The elder daughter had been married to the Rāja of Kanauj, and her son, Jai Chand Rāthor, who bore the same relationship to Anang Pāl as Prithi Rāj—not only refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Dehli, but put forward his own claim

[1] Ferishta, trans. 1908, Vol. I, p. 132. [2] Kangra Settlement Report, p. 7.
[3] Tod's *Rajasthān* reprint, 1899, Vol. I, p. 268. Many of the Rajput chiefs at that time employed Muhammadan mercenaries against one another.

to the dignity of paramount ruler. Strife ensued between them, embittered by the daring exploit of Prithi Rāj, in carrying off by force his willing bride—the beautiful daughter of his rival—from amidst the assembled princes at Kanauj. Jai Chand in revenge then invited, through his Muhammadan mercenaries, the king of Ghaznī to invade Delhi, and thus in the end brought destruction on both Kingdoms. For years the war went on, and though no details have come down to us of the part played by Kāngra in the long and relentless struggle, yet we may well believe that in the final conflicts, in A.D. 1191–3, with Muhammad Ghori on the banks of the Gaggar, the Katoch chief bore an honourable part.

The next reference to the Rājas of Trigarta occurs on two slabs in the Śiva temple at Baijnāth[1] in the Kāngra valley, and is of great interest. Baijnāth (Vaidynāth) was originally the name of the temple only, the village in which it stands being called Kiragrāma, but the latter name has been long disused. In the twelfth century Kiragrāma was the seat of a *rājanakā* or Rāna, whose fort is said to have stood on or near the site of the present Dak Bungalow. The name of the Rāna at the time the slabs were engraved was Lakshmana Chandra, and his ancestors had held Kiragrāma for eight generations, as vassals of the Rājas of Jālandhara and Trigarta, with whose family they had been counted worthy to intermarry. In the inscription the name of the contemporary Rāja is given as Jaya Chandra, and he is called "the supreme king of Jālandhara." The overlords of the Rānas of Kiragrāma, that is, the Rājas of Kāngra, are called "kings of Trigarta," and Kāngra is called *Susarmapura*.

Cunningham identified Jaya Chandra with Jaya Mala Chandra of the *Vansāvalī*, who may have reigned about the beginning of the ninth century, but this identification was based on an erroneous reading of the date of the Baijnāth Eulogies, and therefore cannot be accepted. There was, however, another Jaya Chandra, whose full name was Jaya Sinha Chandra, and who according to the *vansāvalī* immediately preceded Prithī Chand, in the early part of the fourteenth century. If we suppose that Jaya Sinha Chandra's name was displaced in copying the *vansāvalī*—an error of frequent occurrence—his reign may have come at an earlier period, and several reigns may have intervened between him and Prithī Chand. We therefore feel inclined to identify Jaya Sinha Chandra with the Jaya Chandra of the Eulogies and assign his reign to the beginning of the thirteenth century—say *c*. A.D. 1200-20. We assume, therefore, that four or five reigns came between that of Jai Singh Chand and of Prithī Chand, whose name stands next in the *vansāvalī*, and who may have succeeded to the *gaddi* about A.D. 1330.

Probably long before that time the province of Jālandhara on the plains had been lost, but the old title was still retained.

Prithī Chand c. A.D. 1330—The next reference to Kāngra is found in the works of the early Muhammadan historians, in the year A.D. 1337, and it probably refers to the reign of Rāja Prithī Chand. In that year Kāngra fort was captured by Muhammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325-51). Ferishta does not mention this event but in the Odes of Badr-i-Chāch, a poet at the Muhammadan Court, we find the following:—[2]"When

[1] Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, pp. 178-184.

[2] Elliot's History, Vol. III, p. 570.

the Sun was in Cancer the king of the time (Muhammad Tug̲hlak) took the stone fort of Nagarkot, in the year A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337). It is placed between rivers like the pupil of an eye, and the fortress has so preserved its honour and is so impregnable that neither Sikandar nor Dāra was able to take it. Within are the masters of the *mangonels*, within also are beauties resplendent as the sun. Its chiefs are all strong as buffaloes, with necks like a rhinoceros. Its inhabitants are all travelling on the high road to hell and perdition and are *ghuls*, resembling dragons. The exalted king of the kings of the earth arrived at night at this fortress with 100,000 companions. His army contained 1,000 stars and under each star 1,000 banners were displayed."

[1] Cunningham states that on this occasion the temple of Bhawan was again desecrated, and restored just before the capture by Firoz Tug̲hlak, but does not give his authority. We do not know where the capital was transferred to on the fall of the fort; but as we shall see the latter was not allowed to remain long in alien hands. Beginning with Prithī Chand there are many coins extant of the Rājas of Kangra.

Parab Chand, c. A.D. 1345.—Parva or Parab Chand may have succeeded about A.D. 1345, and in A.D. 1351 Muhammad Tug̲hlak died and his army fell into great disorder. The garrison being thus weakened the fort was captured and the Muhammadans were driven out of the country.[2]

Rup Chand, c. A.D. 1360.—With the accession of Rup Chand the chronology becomes more concise, and we are able to fix approximately the date for each reign down to the extinction of the State. Rup Chand must have succeeded about A.D. 1360, for he was reigning when the fort was captured by Firoz Tug̲hlak about A.D. 1365, and from him to Anirudh Chand (A.D. 1827) there were twenty-seven reigns, giving an average duration of about seventeen years, which is well under the average in most of the other states. Probably several Rājas fell in battle.

Rup Chand's name is found in the *Dharm Chand Nātak* of the bard, Mānik Chand, written about A.D. 1562 in the reign of Rāja Dharm Chand; in which reference is made to the capture of Kāngra Fort by Fīroz Shāh Tug̲halak, *c.* A.D. 1365.[3]

[4] There is also a reference in Ferishta to an incident which casts an interesting sidelight on the condition of affairs on the plains about that time. The Rājput princes seem to have been very restless under the new yoke imposed upon them, and took advantage of every opportunity to harass the Muhammadans by a species of guerilla warfare. This we may safely assume was carried on almost continuously for several centuries after the time of Mahmud of G̲hazni. In keeping with this policy Rup Chand of Kāngra, in the early part of his reign, set out with his following for a raiding expedition on the plains, and plundered the country almost to the gates of Delhi. On his return journey laden with booty he encountered Shāhāb-ud-dīn of Kāshmir (A.D. 1363-86), who was out on a similar expedition, and laying his spoils at the feet of the Kashmir Chief, swore fealty to him. The *Rājtarangīnī* of Jonārāja

[1] Cf. A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 165.
[2] Cf. A.S.R. Vol. V, p. 157.
[3] Cf. Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 157.
[4] Ferishta, trans. and reprint, 1908, Vol. IV, pp. 458-9. *Rājatarang.*, Jonaraja, trans., Vol. III, p. 39.

has a different version of this incident. There it is stated that during the Kashmir King's progress "the Rāja of Susarmapura (Kāngra) out of fear forsook the pride of his fort and sought refuge with the goddess." From this we may perhaps infer that there was a conflict between the two forces, as seems most likely, in which Rup Chand was worsted and fled back to Kāngra, and had afterwards to surrender his booty and swear allegiance to Shāhāb-ud-dīn. The "goddess" referred to was probably Mata Devi of Bhawan at Kāngra.

[1] Fīroz Shāh Tughlak (A.D. 1351-88), who was then on the throne of Delhi, about A.D. 1365, undertook an expedition against Trigarta, probably, as Cunningham suggests, in revenge for Rup Chand's incursion, and the siege and capture of Nagarkot is referred to both in Ferishta and in the *Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*. The latter account is as follows:—"Afterwards he (Fīroz Shāh) marched with his army from Delhi towards Nagarkot and passing by the valleys of Nākhach nuh garhi he arrived with his army at Nagarkot, which he found to be very strong and secure. The Rai shut himself up in his fort and the Sultān's forces plundered all his country."....

"The Rāi of Nagarkot withdrew into the keep of his stronghold, which was invested by the royal forces in double, nay, in ten-fold lines. *Manjaniks* and *arradas* were erected on both sides and so many stones were discharged that they clashed in the air and were dashed to pieces. For six months the siege went on, and both sides exhibited great courage and endurance. At length fortune inclined to the Sultān. He was one day examining the fortress, when he perceived the Rāi standing on the top of his citadel. There he stood in an attitude of humility, and stretching out his hands in sign of distress, he clasped his hands and bowed in subjection. When the Sultān observed this he drew a handkerchief from his bosom and waving it kindly towards the Rāi, he signed for him to come down. The *Mehtas* of the Rāi assembled (and counselled surrender) so the Rāi, throwing off his pride, came down from his fort, and making apologies cast himself at the feet of the Sultān; who with much dignity placed his hand on the back of the Rāi and having bestowed on him robes of honour and an umbrella sent him back to his fort. So the Rāi returned laden with presents which he had received from the royal treasury, and accompanied by several fine horses which had been given to him. Thus by the favour of God the Sultān became master of Nagarkot. When he left the fort to return to the capital, the Rāi sent many offerings and horses of priceless worth."

Fīroz Shāh visited Jwāla-Mukhi on his way to Nagarkot and some of the Hindus affirmed that he held a golden umbrella over the head of the idol, but this is indignantly repudiated by Shams-i-Sirāj, the author of the Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi, as untrue.

[2] The reference in Ferishta is not so detailed but has some features of special interest. It is as follows: "From thence (Sirhind) the king marched towards the mountains of Nagarkot, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. The Rāja of Nagarkot after sustaining some loss submitted and was restored to his

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[1] *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī*. Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 317-8-9.

[2] Ferishta. Brigg's trans., Vol. I, pp. 453-4. The soldiers had probably never before seen snow falling.

dominions. The name of Nagarkot was on this occasion changed to that of Mahomedabad in honour of the late king. The people of Nagarkot told Fīroz that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagarkot was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them. The name by which it was then known was Jwālamukhi. In this temple was a fine library of Hindoo books, consisting of 1,300 volumes. Fīroz ordered one of those books which treated of philosophy, astrology and divination to be translated into prose in the Persian language by Eiz-ud-din K͟halīd K͟hānī and called it *Dalāyil Fīroz Shāhi.* Some historians state that Fīroz on this occasion broke the idols of Nagarkot and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmans, who were then paraded through the camp. It is said also that he sent the image of Nowshaba to Mecca to be thrown on the road, that it might be trodden under foot by the pilgrims, and that he also remitted the sum of 100,000 *tankas* to be distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple." In the Tārīk͟h-i-Fīroz Shāhi no mention is made of these occurrences and they are probably untrue, for it would appear that Fīroz Shāh respected the places of worship and left the temple of Bhawan uninjured.[1]

In his account Ferishta has confounded two different goddesses, the great *Mata Devi* of Nagarkot and the *Jwālamukhi*, or fierymouthed goddess of Jwālamukhi, two places which are upwards of twenty miles apart. Shams-i-Sirāj, who derived his information from his father who accompanied Fīroz, more correctly states that the idol, *Jwālamukhi*, much worshipped by the Hindus, was situated *in the road to Nagarkot.*

[2] We also have the following interesting note in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, referring to the siege of Kāngra Fort by Fīroz Shāh: "This fort's fame has ascended to the heavens owing to its great strength and impregnability. It lies to the north of Lahore in the midst of hills. The zamindars in the Punjab have the belief that except God the Creator of the world no one else knows the date of this fort's foundation. In this great length of time this fort has never passed from hand to hand to different tribes, nor has any stranger extended over it the hand of authority. One of the kings of Islām, Sultān Fīroz Shāh, with all his greatness and resources, attempted to reduce it and the siege was of long duration. Coming to the conclusion that to capture that fort was an impossibility, he contented himself with an interview with the Rāja and gave up his project."

"They say the Rāja then invited the Sultān and some of his people into the fort. The Sultān said to the Rāja that to invite him within the fort was a piece of imprudence; if the retinue in his train resolved upon an attempt on him (the Rāja) and should seize the fort, what remedy was there. The Rāja made a sign to his men and at once crowd after crowd of armed men came out of their hiding places. The Sultan was in consternation. The Rāja said respectfully that beyond precautions, he had no other ideas in his head. Still to put into practice measures of prudence was a necessity on

[1] Cf. Ferishta, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 453-4; and *Tārīk͟h-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, p. 318.

[2] *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 185, 186.

such an occasion. On all subsequent occasions when the Sultans of Delhi sent troops to take Kāngra nothing was ever effected."

As already stated a reference to the siege occurs in the Rhymes of the Hindu bard, Mānik Chānd, written in S. 1619 = A.D. 1562. The fact of the Rāja's submission is admitted and the bard also refers to the meeting of the Rāja and the Sultān and gives the former's name as Rup Chand. He also mentions the incident of the Sultān placing his hand on the Rāja's back. The quotation runs as follows :—

Rup Chandar barkar charho Dileswar Surtan
Bahut hetkār pag paro pith hath lei Sān.[1]

"Rup Chandar went forth to meet the Sultān, lord of Delhi, and bowing very low down to his feet, the king put his hand on his back."

This timely submission of the Kāngra chief must have been very welcome after a six months' siege, as Fīroz Shāh was then able to return to Delhi. Cunningham assumes that the fort was retained and a Muhammadan garrision left in it. He says: —"Rup Chand saved his dominions at the cost of his ancestral home which was now garrisoned by Muhammadan troops."[2] This, however, is by no means clear from the narratives; indeed Ferishta distinctly states that Rup Chand was restored to his dominions, while the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi*, written during the reign of Fīroz Shah Tughlak, and thus contemporaneous, says nothing about a garrison having been left in the fort. The *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* also confirms the conclusion that the fort was not occupied. Rup Chand died about A.D. 1375 and was succeeded by his son Sangāra Chand.

Sangāra Chand, c. A.D. 1375.—Of this Rāja's reign there are unfortunately no records, but toward its close an incident occurred, in connection with which mention is made of Kāngra Fort in the Muhammadan histories. Fīroz Shāh Tughlak in A.D. 1387 had recognized his eldest son, Nazīr-ud-dīn, as his successor, but the prince showed so little ability that in little more than a year he was driven from power by his two cousins, and fled for safety to the mountains of Sirmour, and being pursued he retreated to Nagarkot. Ferishta says: "On the approach of the royal army that prince fled to the mountains and securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the royalists battle. He was, however, driven from one position to another till he arrived at Nagarkot and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, but left him in quiet possession and returned to Delhi."[3] It does not seem necessary to assume that Kāngra Fort was then in Muhammadan hands. Prince Nazīr-ud-dīn simply fled to the hill chiefs for an asylum, first in Sirmour and then in Kāngra, and he seems to have received a friendly welcome and safe protection in both places. A similar incident occurred in the reign of Jahāngīr when Prince Khurram, afterwards Shāhjahān, was in rebellion and fled to the Rāna of Udaipur for safety. There he remained for a year and was treated in the most hospitable and generous manner.

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[1] A.S.R. for 1872-3, Vol. V, p.158.
[2] Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, p. 158.
[3] Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 466; and *Tarikh-i-Mubārik-Shahi*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, pp. 19-20-21.

The turban, which he exchanged for that of the Rāna as a symbol of fraternal adoption, is still shown in Udaipur. Prince Nazīr-ud-dīn remained at Nagarkot till the end of A.D. 1389 when he was recalled to Delhi, and in August A.D. 1390 ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Tughlak.

Sangāra Chand probably died about A.D. 1390 and was followed by his son Megh Chand.

Megh Chand, c. A.D. 1390.—This Rāja was probably on the *gaddi* at the time of Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398-9 and in Timur's Memoirs, called *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri*, there is a reference to Nagarkot.

On his return journey from Delhi in A.D. 1399 Timur reached the foot of the Sawālakhs somewhere near Hardwār and advanced along the outskirts of the hills from there to Jammu. He had heard of Nagarkot and wished to capture it but does not seem to have penetrated so far into the interior of the hills. The Hindus opposed his march and he fought many battles and took eight forts, but does not actually state that Nagarkot was one of them. The rivers were crossed where they leave the hills and numerous incursions were made into the valleys and ravines of the outer hills, in which many of his opponents were killed and much booty of every kind fell into his hands. Pathānkot and Nurpur, then called Dahmeri, lay right in his way and must have suffered, and the passage of the Rāvi was probably made at Shāhpur Kandi. Thence he advanced through Lakhanpur, Jasrota and Sāmba to Jammu which was captured and sacked.

The reference in the Memoirs of Timur is too long to be given in full, but the first paragraph referring to Nagarkot is as follows: "When I entered the valley on that side of the Sawaliks information was brought me about the town of Nagarkot which is a large and important town of Hindustan, and situated in these mountains. The distance was thirty *kos*, but the road thither lay through jungles and over lofty and rugged hills. Every *rāi* and *rāja* who dwelt in these hills had a large number of retainers. As soon as I learnt these facts about Nagarkot and the country round, my whole heart was intent upon carrying the war against the infidel Hindus of that place and upon subduing the territory, so I set spurs to my horse and wended my way thither."[1]

Timur then goes on to relate in detail the incidents of the campaign and to tell of the battles he fought and the spoils he secured, but Nagarkot is not again referred to. His camp was probably at Dasuhah near Hoshyārpur at the time he formed the resolve to subdue Nagarkot, and the difficult character of the country prevented him from fully carrying out his design. The whole passage in the *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri* is interesting as showing by a typical example how his invasion of India was carried out, and what fightful scenes of plunder and rapine these quiet mountain valleys have witnessed in their time. The narrative continues as follows: "The left wing of my army commanded by Amīr Jahān Shāh, had obtained no booty on the previous

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[1] *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 465-6-7-8; also cf. *Zafarnama*, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 504-15-16-17.

day, so I ordered his division to the front to battle with the infidels, and to capture spoil to compensate them for the deficiency of the previous day. I sent Sain Timur with a party of soldiers forward as an advance guard and then I followed. At breakfast time Sain Timur, the Commander of the vanguard, sent to inform me that there was a very large force of infidels in front drawn up in order of battle. I instantly ordered Amīr Jahān Shāh, whom I had sent to the front with the forces of the left wing and the army of Khorāsān, to attack the enemy. The Amīr in obedience to my order, advanced and charged the enemy. At the very first charge the infidels were defeated and put to flight. The holy warriors, sword in hand, dashed among the fugitives and made heaps of corpses. Great numbers were slain and a vast booty in goods and valuables, and prisoners and cattle in countless numbers, fell into the hands of the victors who returned triumphant and loaded with spoil."

"A horseman belonging to the *Kushun* (regiment) of Amīr Shaikh Nurud-dīn and Ali Sultān Tawachi, now came galloping in to inform me that upon my left there was a valley in which an immense number of Hindus and *gabrs* had collected, and were crying out for battle. Vast herds of cattle and buffaloes were grazing around them, in numbers beyond the reach of the imagination. As soon as I heard this, I proceeded to the place, and having said my midday prayers with the congregation on the way, I joined Amīr Shaikh Nurud-dīn and I ordered him, with Ali Sultān Tawachi, to march with their forces against the enemy. In compliance with this order they went boldly forward and by a rapid march came in sight of the infidels. Like a pack of hungry sharpclawed wolves, they fell upon the flock of fox-like infidels, and dyed their swords and weapons in the blood of those wretches, till streams of blood ran down the valley. I went to the front from the rear, and found the enemy flying on all sides, and my braves splashing their blood upon the ground. A party of the Hindus fled towards the mountain, and I taking a body of soldiers pursued them up that lofty mountain and put them to the sword. After mounting to the summit I halted. Finding the spot verdant and the air pleasant I sat myself down and watched the fighting and the valiant deeds my men were performing. I observed their conduct with my own eyes, and how they put the infidel Hindus to the sword. The soldiers engaged in collecting the booty and cattle, and prisoners. This exceeded all calculation and they returned victorious and triumphant. The princes and Amīrs and other officers came up the mountain to meet me and to congratulate me on the victory. I had seen splendid deeds of valour and I now promoted the performers and rewarded them with princely gifts."

"The enormous numbers of cows and buffaloes that had been taken were now brought forward and I directed that those who had captured many should give a few to those soldiers who had got no share. Through this order every man, small and great, strong and feeble, obtained a share of the spoil. I remained till evening on the mountain, and after saying the evening prayer I came down. I encamped in the valley where there were running streams."

"Since the 14th Jumāda-l-Awwal (A.H. 801=A.D. 1399) when I entered the Siwalik hills, I had fought the enemy several times, I had gained victories and cap-

tured forts. From that time to the 17th Jumāda-l-Ākhir, one month and two days, I had been engaged in fighting, slaying and plundering the miscreant Hindus of those hills, until I arrived at the fort of Jammu. I reckoned that during these thirty-two days, I had twenty conflicts with the enemy and gained as many victories. I captured seven strong celebrated forts belonging to the infidels, which were situated two or three *kos* distance apart, and were the jewels and beauties of that region."

Hari Chand I, c. A.D. 1405.—A few years after Timur's invasion Hari Chand succeeded to the throne of Kāngra and during his reign an incident occurred which resulted in the founding of a new principality.

The country to the south of Kāngra was then dense jungle with probably few inhabitants, and it seems to have been the hunting ground of the Kāngra Rājas. One day the Rāja set out with his retinue on a hunting expedition in the direction of Harsar, now in Guler State, and in the course of the hunt he somehow got separated from the party and fell into a well or deep pit. On his disappearance being discovered, diligent search was made for several days but in vain. Believing that he had fallen a victim to some wild beast, the officials returned to the capital, where the Rāja's funeral obsequies were duly performed according to custom, even his *rānīs* becoming *sati*.

His younger brother, Karm Chand, was then installed in his room in the absence of a direct heir, and Hari Chand was regarded as dead. He, however, was still alive and after twenty-two days, it is said, was discovered by a passing merchant and rescued. On hearing what had taken place in Kāngra he decided not to return to the capital, and selecting a site near the junction of the Bānganga, Kurali and Nayagul rivers, he founded the fort and town of Haripur, and established an independent State. This was probably done with his brother's knowledge and consent. As a reward to the merchant for his timely help, Hari Chand remitted all duties on his goods in perpetuity, an exemption which was respected by all the succeeding Rājas and by the Sikhs, and only became obsolete on the general remission of duties under British rule.[1]

The story may be true or not, but it illustrates a fixed principle of succession to Hindu Chiefships, viz. that an heir-apparent once designated, or a Raja once enthroned, cannot be deprived of his diginity. The nomination or consecration is irrevocable. Thus the elder brother ruled at Haripur and the younger held the hereditary kingdom of the Katoch family at Kāngra. But down to the present time Guler takes precedence of Kāngra on all ceremonial occasions and the Rāja of Guler is the first Viceregal Darbāri in the Kāngra District.

Karm Chand, c. A.D. 1415.—Of this Rāja's reign we know nothing beyond what has been related, but we assume that it was uneventful.

After the death of Firoz Shāh Tughlak in A.D. 1388, the affairs of the Delhi Empire fell into great confusion, which lasted off and on for more than a hundred years. Internecine strife on the plains must have largely diverted attention from the hills, and Kāngra, like the other hill states in the interior of the mountains, was

[1] Kangra Settlement Report, p. 7.

probably independent. There is indeed an inscription in the temple of Mata Devi at Bhawan of a date somewhat later than the reign of Karm Chand, which states that the Katoch chieftain, Sansār Chand I, was a tributary of Muhammad Shāh, most probably of the Saiyid dynasty; but in view of the condition of disorder then prevailing, the tributary relationship cannot have been more than nominal. Indeed, Kāngra finds no further mention in any of the Muhammadan records till the reign of Sher Shāh Sur, A.D. 1540. A careful study of the whole question leads to the conclusion that, except for a short time in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, the fort remained in the possession of its ancestral chiefs from A.D. 1043 till its capture by Khawās Khān, soon after A.D. 1540. It does not even seem to be certain that Muhammad Tughlak actually left a garrison in the fort after its capture.

Sansār Chand I, c. A.D. 1430.—He was a son of Karm Chand and succeeded about A.D. 1430.[1] As already stated, an inscription of his reign exists in the temple of Vijresvari Devī in Bhawan, which records that he was tributary to Muhammad Shāh; and the only prince of that name whose reign corresponds to that of Sansār Chand is Muhammad Shāh Saiyid of Delhi, A.D. 1435-44.

The next Rajas in succession were *Devangga Chand, c. A.D.* 1450 and *Narēndar Chand, c. A.D.* 1465, but of their reigns there are no records extant, and from what has already been said about the condition of things on the plains at that period we may conclude that the hills enjoyed comparative peace.

Suvīra Chand, c. A.D. 1480.—Narēndar Chand died childless but one of his rānīs was *enceinte*. Other claimants to the *gaddi* then came forward, and the rānī fearing for the safety of her child, in the event of its being a son, escaped to her parents' home which, according to the vernacular history, was in Poona. On the way her son, Suvīra Chand, was born in a Kumhār's hut, which seems to have been within the State. On growing up, Suvīra Chand returned to Kangra with a force provided by his maternal grandfather, and after capturing the fort by stratagem was acknowledged by the people as the rightful heir and installed as Rāja. A *jāgīr* was then granted to the Kūmhār in whose house he was born, but further than this we are told nothing of his reign.

Prayag Chand, c. A.D. 1490, followed, and after him *Rām Chand* about A.D. 1510, but of the events of these reigns we know nothing. Rām Chand's name is mentioned in the Muhammadan histories of Akbar's reign in connection with the expedition sent against Nagarkot in A.D. 1572, as will be related.

Dharm Chand, c. A.D. 1528.—With Dharm Chand's accession we touch firm ground, for his name and some of the events of his reign are referred to in the histories of his time. He must have been in middle life when he came to the throne, for a copper-plate deed exists, issued by him in S. 1535 = A.D. 1478, on the occasion of his receiving the sacred thread. He was then a child of about eleven years and does not seem to have succeeded to the throne till A.D. 1528 on the death of his father.

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[1] It appears from the inscription that the year of his accession was A.D. 1429-30. The record also mentions the names of his father, Karam Chand. (Sanskrit: Karma-chandra) and of his grandfather, Megh Chand (Sanskrit: Megha-Chandra). Cf. A.S.R., Vol. V, pp. 167-8

As we have seen, the Kāngra Fort had enjoyed immunity from attack for a long period, but on the expulsion of Humayun from India and the accession of Sher Shāh Sur in A.D. 1540, his able general Khawās Khān was sent to Nagarkot to bring the hill country under subjection. The reference in the *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtākī* is as follows: [1] "Khawās Khān, who was the predecessor of Miaṅ Bhua, having been ordered by the Sultān to march towards Nagarkot in order to bring the hill country under subjection, succeeded in conquering it and having sacked the infidels' temple of Debi Shankar, brought away the stone which they worshipped, together with a copper umbrella which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindi characters, representing it to be two thousand years old. When the stone was sent to the king, it was given over to the butchers to make weights out of it for the purpose of weighing their meat. From the copper of the umbrella several pots were made in which water might be warmed, and which were placed in the masjids, and the king's own palace, so that every one might wash his hands, feet and face in them, and perform his purification before prayer."

After the conquest the hill tracts seem to have been placed in charge of one Hamīd Khān Kakar, who "lived in the fort of Milwat (Malot) and held such firm control of the Nagarkot, Jwāla, Didhwāl and Jammu hills, in fact the whole hill country, that no man dared to breathe in opposition to him, and he collected the revenue by measurements of land from the hill people." [2]

It may be noted that it is not specifically stated that a garrison was left in the fort after its capture by Khawās Khān, and in any case it cannot have remained long in the hands of the Muhammadans, and was probably recovered on the decline of the Sur dynasty, previous to the return of Humayun in A.D. 1555.

The Punjab was then under the rule of Sikandar Shāh Sur, a nephew of Sher Shāh, who was defeated by the Mughals at Sirhind, and then retreated into the Sawālakhs around Dhameri (Nurpur) and Kāngra. Akbar, then a boy of nearly fourteen years, was sent in pursuit in nominal command of the army. At Kalanour, now in Gurdāspur District, news reached him of his father's death at Delhi, and he was installed as Emperor (Feb. A.D. 1556). He then advanced into the hills, and at Nurpur, Dharm Chand of Kāngra came in and made his submission and was received with favour.[3]

Akbar is said to have subdued the country of Nagarkot and captured the fort, but this is contradicted by later writers. It seems certain that he did not penetrate so far into the hills, and his camp was probably at Nurpur while his army was engaged in scouring the country in pursuit of Sikandar Shāh, with whom Rāja Bakht Mal of Nurpur was in alliance.[4] In the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* we find the following: "The imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik Mountains and gained a victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor. Sikandar took refuge in the mountains and jungles and the imperial forces were engaged for six months in hunting him about and endeavouring to capture him. Rāja Rām Chand,

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1 *Waqiāti-Mushtāki*, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 544.
2 *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtaki*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, p. 415.
3 Ferishta, reprint 1909, Vol. VI, p. 183.
4 *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 248.

Rāja of Nagarkot was the most renowned of all the Rājas of the hills, and he came and made his submission. In consequence of the heavy rains His Majesty left these parts and went to Jālandhar, where he stayed for five months."

It will be noted that the Rāja's name is incorrectly given as Rām Chand, and this mistake is found also in Badauni; but Abul Fazl and Ferishta call him Dharm Chand. Rām Chand was Dharm Chand's father.

In the following year (A.D. 1557) Sikandar Shāh left his retreat in the hills and invaded the Punjab. Akbar then advanced against him and he sought refuge in the strong fortress of Maukot, on the Mau hills, nearly half way between Pathānkot and Nurpur,[1] which was besieged by the Mughals for eight months. When grain had become scarce and the garrison was hard pressed, Sikandar Shāh requested that a noble might be sent to arrange terms. On his entry into the fort Sikandar addressed him in submissive terms, confessing his presumption, and that he knew he had no chance of resistance. He begged to be allowed to retire to Bengal, and promised to remain faithful in his allegiance and leave his son as a hostage. These terms were accepted by Akbar, and on 27th Ramzān, A.H. 964 = July A.D. 1557, the fort was surrendered, and Sikandar Shāh was assigned the districts of Bihār and Kharīd in *jāgīr* but died two years later.[2]

We may safely assume that a contingent from Kāngra was present at the siege, though Dharm Chand was too old to take command. He must have been born about A.D. 1467, and was still alive in A.D. 1562, the year in which the *Dharm Chand Nātak* was written, but died in the following year at an advanced age.

With the firm establishment of Mughal authority the course of events in Kāngra becomes much more precise and detailed, and many references of great interest are to be found in the works of contemporary Muhammadan historians. The Kāngra chief was probably the first in the Punjab hills to tender his allegiance, but early in Akbar's reign all of them came more or less under Mughal control. To ensure their fidelity Akbar initiated the practice of sending hostages to the Mughal Court, the hostage usually being a son or other near relative of the ruling chief, and in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there are said to have been twenty-two young princes from the hill states in attendance on the Emperor.

Manikya Chand, A.D. 1563.—Dharm Chand was succeeded by his son Manikya Chand, who was probably in middle life, and had only a short reign, which seems to have been uneventful. He died in A.D. 1570 and was followed by Jai Chand.

Jai Chand, A.D. 1570.—Soon after his accession Jai Chand, for some reason unknown, incurred Akbar's suspicion, and an order was issued for his arrest, and he was put in confinement, probably in Delhi. His son Bidhi Chand, although a minor, regarding his father as dead assumed the rule of the State and broke out into revolt.

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[1] This fort was built by Salīm Shah Sur, son of Sher Shah. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 108.

[2] Cf. *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, pp. 254-5.

It is worth noting that at Maukot during the siege occurred the historical incident which accentuated the estrangement between Akbar and his famous general, Behram Khan. Two elephants while fighting for the Emperor's amusement got entangled among Behram Khan's tents, and threw some of them down, and this was taken as an intentional affront. Vide Elphinstone, *History*, 1857, p. 432.

In A.D. 1572 an army under Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Khān, Viceroy of the Punjab, was sent to subdue the country, which had been bestowed by the Emperor in *jāgīr* upon Rāja Birbal; and *farmāns* were sent to him and the *Amīrs* of the Punjab commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidhi Chand and place it in the possession of Rāja Birbal.

Rāja Birbal seems to have accompanied the Mughal army, and on his arrival at Lahore, Husain Qulī Khān and the other nobles set out for Nagarkot by way of Paithān (Pathānkot) and Damhari (Nurpur). On reaching Damhari the holder of the place, named Chotó,[1] who is said to have been a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort, which he had strengthened, declined to come out and sent two Vakīls with his offerings.

The reference to Damhari or Nurpur is interesting, as showing that a fort had existed there from former times, previous to the one erected by Rāja Bāsu, son of Takht Mal, who transferred the capital of the State from Pathānkot to Nurpur.

Bakht Mal, the Rāja of Nurpur, in A.D. 1556, had allied himself with Sikandar Shāh and after the surrender of Maukot he was taken to Lahore and executed by Behrām Khān, Akbar's general. His brother, Takht Mal was then installed in his place and must have been ruling when the Mughal army passed through Nurpur. He perhaps thought it safer to keep out of the way, remembering his brother's fate.

The Commander of Nurpur Fort excused himself from attending in person on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook to keep the roads open. The Mughal army then passed on, a small force being left at Nurpur, seemingly to keep up communications.

Twelve miles beyond Nurpur is the fort of Kotila on a high hill, then held by a Kāngra force which refused to surrender. It had originally belonged to Rāja Rām Chand of Gwaliār (Guler), but Rāja Dharm Chand and Rāja Jai Chand of Kāngra had occupied it by force.

On arriving at Kotila the garrison discharged muskets, arrows and stones against the troops and inflicted some loss. Thereupon Husain Qulī Khān and other *Amīrs* ascended the hill opposite the fort and commanding it, and some guns were brought up with great labour and fire was opened on the fort. The masonry was shattered and a number of men of the garrison who stood under the walls were killed. This frightened the besieged, and during the night they abandoned the fort and made their escape. In the morning the Mughal commander, with beating of drums, marched into the fortress, which he delivered over to the Rāja of Gwaliar (Guler), to whose ancestor it had formerly belonged. But he left a garrison of his own in the fort and then advanced to Nagarkot.

The siege of Kāngra Fort was progressing favourably and the garrison were in extremities when it was reported that Ibrahīm Husain Mirza and Masud Mirza, relatives of Akbar, had invaded the Punjab. Khān Jahān, therefore, with the approval of the other Amīrs, opened negotiations with the commander of the garrison,

[1] This name is probably a clerical error, and may be meant for *Taktu*, i.e. Takht Mal, who was then Rāja of Nurpur.

and on his agreeing to the payment of five *mans* of gold and some valuables, the siege was raised and the Mughal army departed to oppose the Mirzas.

The narrative in the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* is as follows :—

[1] "When the Emperor's favour was alienated from Rāja Jai Chandar, Rāja of Nagarkot, he issued orders for putting him in confinement. The Raja's son, Bidi Chand, although a minor, assumed the place of his father, and deeming him as dead broke out in revolt. The Emperor having given to Kab Rāī the title of Rāja Bīrbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot."

"Thereupon *farmāns* were sent to Husain Qulī Khān, and the Amīrs of the Punjāb, commanding them to take Nagarkot from Bidi Chand, and place it in the possessīon of Rāja Bīrbal.[2]

"When the Rāja arrived at Lahore, Husain Qulī Khan, and other nobles of the Punjāb, set out for Nagarkot. On reaching Damharī (Nurpur), the holder of that place, whose name was Choto, and who was a relative of Jai Chand, relying on the security of his fort which he had strengthened, kept himself in private, and sent two *vakīls* with his offerings. He also sent a message excusing himself from attending in person, on the ground of his fears and anxiety, but he undertook the duty of keepīng the roads clear. Husain Qulī Khān presented the *vakīls* with robes and sent them back. Leaving a party of men at the village situated near the opening of the road, he went onwards."

"On arriving at the fort of Kutila he pitched his camp. This fort is a very high one. It formerly belonged to Rām Chandar of Gwāliār (Guler), but Rāja Dharm Chand and Rāja Jai Chand had obtained possession of it by force."

"The officers left in charge of the fort by Rāja Jai Chand discharged muskets and arrows and stones against the troops who had dispersed in search of plunder, and inflicted some damage. Upon hearing of this, Husain Qulī Khān mounted his horse with the other *Amīrs* to reconnoitre the place. He ascended a hill which is opposite to the fort, and commands it. With great labour some guns were brought up the hill, and fire was opened upon the fort. Its cracked masonry was shattered by the balls. A large number of men stood under the walls, and great loss was suffered. As evening approached, he returned to the camp, leaving a force in charge of that position. During the night the Rajputs who where in the fortress, and were terrified by the cannonade, made their escape. In the morning Husain Qulī Khān, beating his drums, marched into the fort of Kutila, which he delivered over to the Rāja of Gwāliār, to whose ancestors it had formerly belonged, but he left a garrison of his own there."

"Continuing his march (beyond Kotila) he (Khān Jahān) came to a thickly wooded country through which it was difficult for an ant or a snake to creep, so a party of men was sent to cut a road through the jungle. On the 1st Rajab A.H. 980=8th November A.D. 1572, he encamped by a field of maize near Nagarkot.

[1] Cf. *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 356 *et seq.*; also cf. *Ma'asir-ul-Umarā*. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 647-8.

[2] "Bīrbal," in Hindi, signifies "courageous" and "great," so his title means, "Brave and mighty Raja."

The fortress of Bhun (Bhawan), which is an idol temple of Mahāmāī, and in which none but her servants dwelt, was taken by the valour and resolution of the assailants at the first assault. A party of Rajputs who had resolved to die, fought most desperately till they were all cut down. A number of Brahmans who for many years had served the temple never gave one thought to flight and were killed.

During the struggle nearly 200 black cows, belonging to the Hindus, had crowded together for shelter in the temple. Some savage Turks, while the arrows and bullets were falling like rain, killed these cows one by one. They then took off their boots and filled them with the blood, and cast it upon the roof and walls of the temple.

The outer fortifications having fallen, the buildings were destroyed and levelled to make a camping ground. After this the fort was invested. [1] *Sābāts* (approaches) were formed and a mound commanding the fort was raised. Some large guns were also placed upon a neighbouring hill, and were fired several times a day upon the fort and the residence of the Rāja. One day the Commander of the artillery fired a large gun upon a place which the Rāja had thought to be safe, and in which he was sitting at meat. The ball struck the walls, and killed nearly eighty people who were within the building, among them was Bhuj Dev, son of Rāja Takht Mal (of Nurpur)."

"In the beginning of Shawwāl letters came from Lahore with the intelligence that Ibrahīm Husain Mirza had crossed the Satlada (Satluj), and was marching upon Dipālpur. Husain Qulī Khān held a secret council with the *Amīrs* about the course necessary to be pursued. The army was suffering great hardships, and the dogs in the fortress were anxious for peace, so Husain Qulī Khān felt constrained to accede. The infidels undertook to pay a large tribute, five *mans* of gold, Akbarshāhi weight, and various kinds of stuffs for His Majesty. A mosque was founded in front of the palace of Rāja Jai Chandar, and after the completion of the first arch a pulpit was raised, and Hāfiz Muhammad Bakir read the *Khutba* in the name of the Emperor on Friday, in the middle of Shawwāl A.H. 980, 19th Feby., A.D. 1573. As he repeated the titles of the Emperor gold was showered upon his head. When peace was concluded, the *Khutba* read, and the coins stamped with the Emperor's name, Husain Qulī Khān marched away."

The account of the siege in the Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā (Vol. I, pp. 647-8) is similar to that already given, but in the Akbarnāmah we find several additional details of considerable interest, and therefore give it in full: "The rebel Mirzas thought that as Khān Jahān and the other nobles in the Punjab were occupied in the siege of Nagarkot, there was a chance of success for them in that province. If they failed they would return through Sindh to Gujrat. Husain Qulī Khān, in obedience to the Emperor's instructions, sent a letter of advice into Nagarkot fort. The advice was not taken. The loyal nobles proceeded there and invested it.[2]

"When Raja Jai Chand left to come to Akbar's Court he prudently left his own

[1] A *sābāt* is a broad (covered) way under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress, secure from the fire of guns and muskets, *sarkob*, meaning "Catapults" in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*.

[2] *Akbarnāmah*, Cawnpore Ed., Vol. 3, p. 6.

son, Bidhi Chand, a minor, in charge of Rāja Gobind Chand, Jaiswāl. At this period the said Rāja came and entered the fort and set to work to prepare it for a siege. The taking of the fort was close at hand when news came of the rising of the Mirza Ibrahīm Husain and his occupation of the Punjab." [1]

"On hearing of this trouble the nobles began to consult. Muhib Ali Khān and Mirza Yusuf Khān and Kurram Khān and Fatu and others resolved that the matter (siege) ought to be arranged, and leaving the hill country they should return to the plains of the Punjab, and before the arrival of the rebel get ready an army against him. Khān Jahān and others, as they had undergone great labour and had nearly taken the fort, were desirous of a full success, would not take a wide view and could not bring their minds to making peace. The nobles replied," It is easy to see the extent of profit or loss from the capture or non-capture of the fort, but the disturbing report of this deceiver is a big business." Khān Jahān said, "If I make terms the result of the council held must be recorded in writing and each man must append his seal. Thus if raising the siege fails in securing the Emperor's approval, you nobles will be obliged to supply the answer. The nobles then signed and negotiations were decided on."

"The Rāja (Gobind Chand) looked on the offer of terms as a stroke of good fortune and was delighted. The conditions of peace were four in number: 1st, That the Rāja shall send a daughter into the harem of the Emperor. 2nd, That he will furnish a satisfactory tribute. 3rd, That he will send with us for our satisfaction a man of trust and character, some relative, so that in case the Emperor disapproves of the terms, the man may remain until the fort is evacuated. 4th, Since this country has been allotted as the *jāgīr* of Rāja Bīrbar, a large sum shall be paid him to induce him to renounce it."

"The Rāja considered all these four conditions as beneficial to himself."

"Khān Jahān suggested a fifth condition, viz. that Rāja Gopi Chand (Gobind Chand) should come in and present himself. To reassure him several of the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khān would enter and remain in the fort until the Rāja came, or else Mirza Yusuf Khān and Khurram Khān should remain in the fort. In the end the brethren of Mirza Yusuf Khān were sent, and the Rāja, taking these envoys with him, came into the camp. Having had an interview with Khān Jahān he took his leave. The glorious army then made resolve to expel the (rebel) Mirza (from the Punjab)."

"A short time only had elapsed when the Rāja returned, and by way of submissiveness made the proposal that at a time when they were marching against the enemy, he could not stay idle at home. Thus with excess of zeal he joined himself with the fortunate army. The Mirza, plundering as he went, had reached the border of Diyālpur (Dipālpur), and there he heard of the march of the loyal nobles. He was in consternation and reduced to helplessness. He gave up the idea of reaching Lahore and started in the direction of Multān."

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[1] The Mirzas belonged to a branch of the Mughal royal family descended from Timur, and they aspired to the throne. After many contests they were all defeated and captured or killed. Cf. Elphinstone, *History*, 1857, pp. 438 and 441 2-3.

From the above account it would seem that Rāja Jai Chand had voluntarily obeyed the imperial order to repair to court, where he was placed in confinement. But before leaving Kāngra he placed his son, a minor, in charge of his kinsman—Gobind Chand—the Rāja of Jaswān, who discharged his duty faithfully. In the latter account, it will be noted, there is no mention of the building of a mosque in front of Jai Singh's palace, nor of the reading of the *Khutba*, and Khān Jahān does not seem to have even entered the fort, which was left in possession of the Katoch garrison. The siege had lasted about three months when it was raised.

It was probably after this expedition that Akbar deputed his great finance minister, Todar Mal, to Kāngra, in order to create an imperial demesne by confiscations of territory from the hill states. On presenting himself before his royal master after the completion of his mission, he is reported to have made use of the metaphor, that he 'had taken the meat and left the bones,' meaning thereby that he had annexed all the fertile tracts, leaving nothing but the bare hills to the hill chiefs. The portion of the demesne taken from Kāngra seems to have included sixty-six villages in the valley; and the whole of Rihlu was annexed from Chamba, with similar confiscations according to their means from the territories of other hill states.[1]

Cunningham indeed affirms that in Akbar's reign the Kāngra fort was permanently occupied by imperial troops, but this is incorrect. We now know that the fort was not captured and permanently garrisoned by the Mughals till A.D. 1620 in the reign of Jahāngīr. It is also distinctly stated by one of the historians that Akbar failed in his attempt to capture the fort, and this seems to have been the only expedition sent against it during his reign.

After the siege there is no further mention of Nagarkot in the Muhammadan histories till A.D. 1582. Akbar was then on his way to the Indus and had reached Dasuhah (near Hoshyarpur) when on hearing of the cutting out of tongues, practised in the Devi temple at Kāngra, he wished to see the place and verify the story. He was, however, prevented from carrying out his purpose by a dream or spiritual apparition during the night.[2] The incident is thus related in the Akbarnāmah: "His Majesty heard of the cutting out of tongues and their restoration and desired to verify the story. He was then not far from the spot and the story was again told him. On the 15th Safar, 990 A.H. (21st March, A.D. 1582), he started with a small retinue. At the first stage, Rāja Jai Chand arrived to pay his respects, and as it was one watch after nightfall the town of Daisohah (Dasuhah) was selected for passing the night. Rāja Bīrbar who held it in *Fazul* (rent-free land) provided all necessaries and presented offerings. The attendants were worn out with the hardships of the road, but from the respect imposed by the Emperor's Majesty they dared not say anything. In the night a spiritual form, with which opposition to an act is associated, appeared as a face in the sleeping apartment, and pleading the imperial dignity turned him (Akbar) from that enterprise. He communicated the fact of this

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[1] Kāngra Settlement Report, 1889, p. 8.

[2] *Akbarnāmah*, Cawnpore Ed., Vol. III, p. 204; also cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 186.

apparition as soon as morning dawned. He turned back. All were greatly relieved. Between Khondwāl and Gaim Adhan a bridge was thrown over the Biāh, and on the 17th (23rd March, A.D. 1582) they reached Kalanaur."

From the above it is clear that Akbar did not visit Nagarkot on the occasion referred to, and also that he had not done so previous to this.[1] The following extract from the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* seems to prove that he did not do so at any subsequent date: "Akbar had strong desires for conquest, reigned for a long period and was not averse from taking it (Kāngra), this region being in the border of the imperial territories. On one occasion the Rāja of that place for some reason or another incurred Akbar's displeasure. He granted the territory to Rāja Bīrbar and detached a force under the command of Husain Qulī Khān, Khān Jahān, Governor of the Punjab. While he was making the investment stricter and stricter the revolt of Ibrahīm Husain Mirza took place. Forced by circumstances he (Khān Jahān) made friends with the Rāja[2] and started in pursuit (of the Mirzas). Subsequently Rāja Jai Chand, the lord of that country, sent in without a break his tribute, and came to kiss the felicity-conferring threshold of the Emperor." It would thus appear that Rāja Jai Chand was set at liberty soon after the siege and resumed his position as ruler of the State. The cutting out of tongues, referred to by Akbar's historians, seems to have been practised from very ancient times in the temple of Bhawan at Kāngra; and occasionally cases occur even now. The belief among the people is that the tongue, thus cut out as an offering to the goddess, is restored within a few hours or days. We find the following notice of the practice in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*. [3] "Near the town is the idol temple of Mahāmāī, known as Durga Bhawāni. They believe it to be an incarnation of God, and pilgrims from afar come to visit it and carry away the desire of their hearts. A wonder is that with the hope of fulfilment they cut out their tongues. To some it grows again in an hour or two, with others it takes one or two days. Although the learned in science consider that the tongue is always growing, yet for it to do it so speedily is a marvel, and they account for it as a miracle due to sleeping with Mahādev. The wise men of their sect ascribe it to the potency of his name."

The following on the same subject is from the Hadiqāt-ul-Aqālīm of Shekh Murtazā Khān, Bilgrāmi, written about A.D. 1781: "In the same Duāba, within the boundary of Lahore, is a hill country of which the name is Nagarkot. It has an exceedingly lofty fortress. At the foot of these hills, below Nagarkot, a domed edifice has been built. The Hindus connect this with Bhawāni. Inside it is a block of stone, quite unadorned, a mere lump of rock. This stone is worshipped by the Hindus with profound reverence. Twice a year crowds, young and old, rich and poor, come bare-footed to adore it. The supplicants cut out their tongues with their own hands, and by aid of their faith they find in a few hours, and some in a few days, that a new and perfect tongue has regrown."

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[1] *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 186.

[2] Badauni says, Husain Quli Khan patched up a peace with the Hindus.

[3] *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 184.

[1] According to local tradition, Akbar was told that Kāngra was famous for four things:—

1. The manufacture of new noses.
2. The treatment of eye diseases.
3. *Bāsmati* rice.
4. The strong fort.

The operation for the restoration of the nose which was for centuries performed at Kāngra is said to have originated in the time of Akbar. The cutting off of the nose was a common form of punishment under the former rulers of India, and on one occasion when the Emperor had ordered a criminal's nose to be cut off, he appeared soon afterwards with a new nose. On asking how it had been acquired, Akbar was told that one Budya, a surgeon of his own, had performed the operation. He was rewarded by receiving a *jāgīr* in Kāngra, under a title-deed which is said to be still in the possession of his descendants. The *jāgīr*, however, was resumed a long time ago under Sikh rule. Mr. Vigne, who gives this information, asked to see the title-deed but it was not shown, though he met two practitioners of the art, who however were unwilling to make any communication on the subject. The operation continued to be practised till long after the beginning of British rule in the Punjab.

[2] Sir A. Cunningham who visited Kāngra soon after the annexation of the hills has the following note on the subject: "I could learn nothing about the eyes, but the repair of noses still goes on, although greatly fallen off since the close of Sikh rule, when amputation of the nose was a common punishment. But people still come from Kabul and Nepāl to be treated. Noses lost by disease are said to defy restoration, but if so the disease cannot have been cured."

Cunningham also remarks that it is strange that there is no mention of the practice by Abul Fazl, although perhaps it may not have come into use until late in Akbar's reign, after the Āīn-i-Akbari had been completed.

[3] With regard to the method of performing the operation, Vigne says: "I learned that they first give the patient a sufficient quantity of opium, bhang or wine to render him senseless, they then tap the skin of the forehead above the nose, until a sort of blister arises, from which a piece of skin of the proper shape is then cut and immediately applied as a nose, sewed on and supported with pieces of cotton. The wound is then dressed with an ointment in which blue vitriol is an ingredient. The surgeons practise on the credulity of the Hindus by telling them that all that is done is by favour of the Devi or spirit who is featureless, and the operation would succeed nowhere else but at Kot Kāngra. On my way to and from the place I saw several persons who had been operated on and were returning homewards, looking quite proud of their new acquisition, which was, however, but a sorry substitute for the old feature."

Bidhi Chand, A.D. 1585.—Rāja Jai Chand died in A.D. 1585 and was succeeded

[1] A.S.R. Vol. V, pp. 168-9; cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 140-1. Traditionally Akbar is said to have besieged Kot Kangra for ten years, during which time he made the garden of Ram Bagh and remained to eat the first fruit of the mango trees which he had planted. Forster makes the time only one year; a similar tradition is related in connection with the siege of Tāragaṛh in the reign of Shāhjahān.

[2] Arch. Survey Reports, Vol. V, pp. 168-9. [3] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 141.

by Bidhi Chand. The hill chiefs had not yet become reconciled to Mughal supremacy and soon after Bidhi Chand's accession a secret confederation seems to have been formed led by Bidhi Chand, embracing most of the States in the outer hills between Jammu and Kāngra. In the 35th year of Akbar A.D. 1588-9 they all broke out into rebellion and Zain Khān Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent with a large force to bring them into subjection. He marched through the hills from Pathankot to the Satluj, and on their submission, thirteen of the hill chiefs accompanied him to Court, and tendered their allegiance, at the same time presenting valuable presents to the Emperor. The *Ain-i-Akbari* says:—"Most of them, as Rāja Budi (Bidhi) Chand of Nagarkot, Rāī Partāp of Mankot, Rāja Parasrām of Mount Jammu, Raja Bāsu of Mau, Rāī Balbhadar of Lukhinpur, etc., submitted and accompanied Zain Khān Koka to Court, though they had an army of 10,000 horse and a lakh of foot soldiers." [1]

The following is a translation of the note in the Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā:—In the thirty-fifth year of Akbar Zain Khān received an order to punish the northern zamindars (petty chiefs). From near Pathān (Pathānkot) he advanced and did not turn his face till he reached the Satluj. All the dwellers in the territories became submissive, Raja Bidhi Chand of Nagarkot, Raja Parasram of Mount Jammu, Raja Bāsu of Mau, Raja Anrudh of Jaswan, Raja Kamluri (Kahluri-Bilāspur). Raja Jogdes Chand, Dahwāl (Dadwāl), Rai Sansār Chand of Panna, Rai Partāp of Mankot, Rai Bhaso (Bhabu) Buzurg of Jasrota, Rai Balbhadar of Lakhanpur, Daulat of Kot Bharta, Rai Krishan Ballauria (Basohli), Rai Raodeh Dhamerwāl, although they had 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen submitted and presented themselves at Court with valuable presents." It appears that the whole of the hill states between the Chinab and the Satluj were in revolt and Zain Khān wisely entered the hills at Pathānkot midway between the two extremes, so that as a good strategist he might divide the enemies' forces and conquer them in detail. A force was doubtless sent westward towards Jammu while he led the main army towards the Satluj. It is noteworthy that Chamba, Kulu, Mandi and Suket are not mentioned, but we may conclude that all the States between the Chinab and the Ravi in alliance with Jammu were invoked. Almost all the names can be easily identified except Panna and Kot Bharta. The last name in the list probably refers to a subordinate chiefship under Dhameri or Nurpur. Bharta may possibly be a clerical error for Bhadu, a small state near Basohli.

On their submission they were all considerately dealt with and had their territories and honours restored, but Bidhi Chand had to leave his son, Triloka Chand, then a boy, as a hostage at the Mughal Court. Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) was also then a boy and the people of Kāngra have a story that when he and Triloka Chand were together at Delhi, the latter had a parrot which Jahāngīr wished to possess, but the young Rājput prince would not part with it. On this account Jahāngīr, it is said, cherished a grudge against Triloka Chand and marched against him on becoming Emperor.

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[1] *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans. I, p. 344; also *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 160.

[1]In the 41st year of Akbar (A.D. 1594–5) there was another rebellion among the hill chiefs, led by the Rāja of Jasrota, but Bidhi Chand does not seem to have been involved in it, though Rāja Bāsu of Nurpur was, and a force under Mīrzā Rustam Qandahāri was sent against him which entered the hills at Pathankot. A force under Shekh Farid, the Emperor's Bakhshi or Paymaster, was also sent to suppress the rising and marched through the outer hills from Jammu by Jasrota and Maukot to Guler, and the Rāni of Kāngra sent envoys with presents, her son being then at Court. Possibly Bidhi Chand also was then at the Mughal Court. The following reference is from the *Akbarnāmah*[2]:—

"Having left Husain Beg there at Jasrota with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Raja came out to meet it. The *pargana* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkaman and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Rāvi by a ford and proceeded to the *pargana* of Pathān. Next day it marched to Mau, a *pargana* under the authority of Bāsu. At this time Bāsu was at Court, but his son had at the first come forward and accompanied the army. He was now told that he ought to seize the opportunity for sending a suitable offering, in acknowledgment of the country having been graciously confirmed to him. The son of Bāsu sent two vakīls to invite the Bakhshi to his house, a fort on the top of a hill, to receive the tribute. So the chief men of the army proceeded with an escort Mu (Mau), which is a very strong fort. Excepting some cultivated land immediately adjoining the fort, the whole hill is covered with impenetrable jungle. The road through is very narrow, and in places strong gates are erected across it. At the foot of the hill there is also cultivated land, and around it there are stone walls and deep ditches. The country around is exceedingly pleasant, the gardens are full of fruit trees, and there are plenty of running streams. Bāsu's residence was a fine extensive building. The place was visited and examined and after Bāsu's Vakīls had discharged the duties of hospitality, the tribute was brought forth consisting of valuable horses and fine cloths. The other territories of the neighbourhood which had been held by rebellious Rājas and Zamindārs were granted to *jāgīrdārs* as *tankhwāh* (salary)."

"The army then proceeded to Gwaliār (Guler) which is also a strong fort belonging to a different Rāja, who came out to meet the army and show his loyalty. The Rāni of Nagarkot whose son was at the imperial Court, sent her Vakīl to pay his respects. On every side the rebels were compelled to submit and show their obedience. All the country which had been in the hands of the rebels, from Jammu to Nagarkot, was reduced, and the Rājas and Zamindārs made their submission or received merited punishment. In fact the country was subjugated in a manner it had never been before."

"The affairs of the clan of Jaswāl who are Zamindārs with a (common) army, now had to be settled. But when they heard of the approach of the royal army

[1] *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 125 to 129; also *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, pp. 167-170, and I.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 110.

[2] *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 126-9.

and of the reduction of the territories of the Zamindārs all hope of successful resistance was beaten out of them, and they made humble submission."

After having carried the campaign to a successful issue Shaikh Farīd was recalled to Lahore where Akbar then was and travelled from Jaswān *via* Dasuha and Batāla, reaching his destination in three days, a very expeditious journey in those times. He then paid his respects to the Emperor and received great rewards. Shaikh Farīd afterwards received the title of Murtazā Khān for his services at the siege of Kangra Fort in A.D. 1613–14, in collaboration with Suraj Mal of Nurpur, but died soon after.

The rest of Bidhi Chand's reign seems to have passed uneventfully and he died about A.D. 1605.

Triloka Chand, A.D. 1605.—Jahāngīr succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1605 but it was not till AD. 1615[1] that he sent a force against Kāngra, under the command of Shekh Farīd Murtazā Khān, Governor of the Panjab, the same who commanded in A.D. 1594-5. The invasion of Kāngra is said to have occurred in consequence of the grudge already referred to, entertained by Jahāngīr against Triloka Chand, but Cunningham, with more probability, conjectures that it was the result of the Katoch Chief having revived the local coinage in his own name, a right which had not been exercised either by his father or his grandfather. According to local tradition the fort surrendered after three days' siege and the Rāja was assigned the district of Rājgir, as a *jāgīr*, yielding one lakh of rupees.

[2] The *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb*, by Ghulam Muhai-ud-din of Ludhiāna, finished in 1820, has a different version of this story. According to it the Katoch Prince was Harī Chand, son of Triloka Chand, but this is probably an error. The version is as follows:—

"On being asked for the parrot by Jahangīr the Rajput prince replied, "We have sent *Bāz* (hawks) and *Jurah* (crystal) in our tribute to the Emperor: this wretched bird I have retained for my own pleasure and to practise with. Whenever given leave from the imperial court, I will return home and send *Bāz* and *Jurah* together with this poor creature as a present. As Akbar favoured Harī Chand, Jahangīr dared not use force to seize the bird but retained a grudge against the boy. When Hari Chand reached Kāngra again he sent *Bāz* and *Jurah* to the Prince. Jahāngīr would not accept them. At the time Rāja Trilok Chand died, Akbar also quitted this transitory scene and Jahāngīr succeeded his father. The hill Rājas attended to make obeisance and present their offerings, Raja Hari Chand among them. He knew that Jahāngīr had a concealed grudge against him and before he left home he ordered his mother to put their fort in a state of defence. As his mother was a daughter of the Raja of Chamba, she summoned her brother from Chamba and he remained in the fort at Kāngra."

"Openly Jahāngīr loaded Hari Chand and the other Rājas with favours, but

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[1] The order seems to have been first issued in H. 1021=A.D 1612-13. Cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umara* ii. 638.

[2] This History was written at the request of Captain Murray, Political Officer in Ludhiana, who died about 1830.

issued secret orders for his seizure and imprisonment. He heard of the design and fled with two or three personal attendants. When he had covered several stages the news reached Jahāngīr and he sent troops in pursuit. He was overtaken when he had reached the village of Kiratpur, five kos from Anandpur, and was forced to defend himself and was slain on the spot."

"The imperial force continued its march to Kāngra, but owing to the orders to strengthen the fort, given by Hari Chand on his departure, none of the places could be taken. They concentrated their efforts on the capital and its fort. It is said that the siege was prolonged for four years. When the supplies inside the fort were exhausted, the son of the Chamba Raja, on promise of favours being granted the kingdom, yielded up the fort to the imperial troops. Hari Chand's mother either killed herself with a sword or plunged into a reservoir."

"As agreed upon, the Emperor conferred a *jāgīr* out of the Kāngra territory on the Chamba prince, which remained with Chamba till A.D. 1824 = S. 1881. In that year Maharaja Ranjit Singh took it, instead of tribute money, and delivered to Wazīr Nathu an agreement not to interfere with the rest of the territories. But dues to the amount of Rs. 8,000 were taken as before. The territory of Bhadrawāh was also given to him (Chamba)."

The story in the *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb* is evidently confused and inaccurate, and the version which refers the incident of the parrot to Tiloka Chand is doubtless the correct one. Hari Chand, son of Triloka Chand, was only twelve years old in A.D. 1620 and did not succeed to the *gaddi* till towards the middle of Jahāngīr's reign, whereas Triloka Chand was a contemporary of Jahāngīr's and about the same age. The reference to Chamba is also incorrect, as Rihlu, the tract said to have been granted in *jāgīr*, had been Chamba territory from early times, and was included by Todar Mal in the confiscations to form the imperial demesne, of which it remained a part till about A.D. 1752, when it was recovered by the Chamba Chief, and finally annexed, as stated, by Ranjīt Singh about A.D. 1823.

It is possible, however, that the tradition may be a reminiscence of an early invasion of Kāngra not recorded in the histories, soon after Jahāngīr ascended the throne, in which Triloka Chand was killed. He must have been alive till A.D. 1609-10 as his son, Hari Chand, was only twelve years of age at the capture of the fort in A.D. 1620. It is noteworthy that Triloka Chand's name is not mentioned in connection with the invasion and investment of A.D. 1615. We may, therefore, suppose that he died or was killed about A.D. 1610 and that Hari Chand then succeeded as an infant.

Hari Chand II. c. A.D. 1610.—The Mohammedan historians give a wholly different account of the invasion, which is no doubt the true one. Jahāngīr himself in his Memoirs tells us that the force for the siege of Kāngra Fort was dismissed on its mission on the 11th Farwardin, A.H. 1024=1st or 2nd April A.D. 1615, that is, ten years after his accession. He says:—[1] "Murtazā Khān on this day obtained leave to go for

[1] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, Vol. I, p. 283, trans. 1909.

the capture of the fort of Kāngra, the equal of which for strength they cannot point to in the hill country of the Punjab or even all the habitable world. From the time when the sound of Islām reached the country of Hindustan up to this auspicious time, when the throne of rule has been adorned by this suppliant at the throne of Allah, none of the rulers or kings has obtained possession of it. Once in the time of my revered father, the army of the Punjab was sent against this fort and besieged it for a long time. At length they came to the conclusion that the fort was not to be taken, and the army was sent off to some more necessary business. When he was dismissed I gave Murtazā Khān a private elephant with trappings. Rāja Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, as his country was near that fort, was also appointed and his previous *mansab* was increased by 500 *personnel* and horse." He also tells us that he "released Rāja Mān, who was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (the State prison) on the security of Murtazā Khān, and confirming his *mansab*, sent him to the said Khān for duty at the fort of Kangra." [1]

Jahāngīr does not tell us who Rāja Mān was, but we may conclude that he was a Rajput chief of Rajputana, probably Amber or Jaipur. Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, was then Rāja of Nurpur, having succeeded his father in A.D. 1613, and as we have seen, he was sent by the Emperor to assist in the siege of Kāngra fort. He was, however, far from being loyal and when he saw that the fort was on the point of surrendering, he began to stir up trouble so as to hinder the operations and prevent the capitulation. He was therefore recalled to Court and soon afterwards Murtazā Khān died and the siege was held in abeyance, after having lasted nearly a year. The reference in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* is as follows:—

[2] "When by the exertions of the Shekh (Murtazā Khān) the besieged (Kāngra Fort) were reduced to extremities and he (Suraj Mal) saw that a victory could not be far off, he set to work to hinder the operations and make them a failure, bound round his waist the covering of erroneous conduct and raised arguments and opposition against the men of the said Khān. Murtaza Khān wrote to the imperial court that Suraj Mal's actions betrayed signs of disloyalty and rebellion. Seeing that the presence in those hills of a capable commander such as Murtazā Khān, at the head of a large force, made his preparations for disturbance and disorder impossible, he was forced to apply to the Prince (Shāhjāhān), sending to him a petition that Murtazā Khān, instigated by designing persons, had conceived a dislike to him, and casting on him the suspicion of turbulence and rebellion, was laying plans for uprooting him. He prayed that he (Shāhjahān) would act as the saviour of his life and the means of his deliverance, fortune having abandoned him, by causing him to be summoned to the imperial court."

"At the time of these occurrences, early in the 11th year of Jahāngīr (A.D. 1616) Murtazā Khān folded up the carpet of existence, and the reduction of the fort was held in abeyance. He (Suraj Mal) in pursuance of a request made by the Prince (Shāhjahān) was recalled to the imperial court and was received with favour.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 301. [2] *Ma'asir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 176, 177.

Shortly afterwards he was attached to the Prince's force, then about to proceed to the Dakhan (October A.D. 1616)."

In the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* the Emperor thus refers to this incident: [1] "On the 20th of the same month (Bahmān), Rāja Suraj Singh (Mal), son of Rāja Baso, who on account of the nearness of his dwelling-place to it had been sent with Murtazā Khān to capture the fort of Kāngra, came on my summons and waited on me. The aforesaid Khān had entertained certain suspicions with regard to him, and on this account, considering him an undesirable companion, had repeatedly sent petitions to the court and wrote things about him until an order was received to summon him."

Soon after Suraj Mal's recall, Murtazā Khān was taken ill and died at Pathānkot. The event is thus referred to by Jahāngīr. "On the 3rd of this month (Khurdād), the news of the death of Murtazā Khān came. He was one of the ancients of this State. My revered father had brought him up and raised him to a position of consequence and trust. In my reign also he obtained the grace of noteworthy service, namely, the overthrow of Khusrau. His *mansab* had been raised to 6000 and 5000 horse. As he was at this time Subadār of the Punjāb he had undertaken the capture of Kāngra, to which in strength no other fort in the hill country of that province, or even in the whole inhabited world, can be compared. He had obtained leave to go on this duty. I was much grieved in mind at this news." *Tūzuk.*, trans., p. 324.

[2] After the death of Murtazā Khān in the early spring of A.D. 1616, Rāja Mān, already mentioned, seems to have been in command and acted loyally and gave encouragement to the force besieging the fort. Evidently the place had all but surrendered, for we are told that Raja Mān had made an arrangement to bring to court the son of the Rāja of Kāngra, who is said to have been 29 years old.[3] On his return to court, Rāja Mān received a higher *mansab* and was appointed leader in the attack on the fort, presumably in succession to Murtazā Khān, and all the men to accompany him were also designated by the Emperor.

[4] The note is as follows: "News came that after the death of Murtazā Khān loyalty was shown by Rāja Mān, and that after giving encouragement to the men of the fort of Kāngra, an arrangement had been made that he should bring to court the son of the Rāja of that country, who was 29 years old. In consequence of his great zeal in this service I fixed his *mansab*, which was 1000 *personnel* and 800 horse, at 1500 *personnel* and 1000 horse."

"After the death of Murtazā Khān, Rāja Mān and many of the auxiliary Sirdars had come to court on this duty. At the request of I'timād-ud-daulah, I appointed Rāja Mān as the leader in the attack on the fort of Kāngra I appointed all the men to accompany him, and according to the condition and rank of each made him happy with a present, a horse, an elephant, a robe of honour, or money, and gave them leave." It seems probable that his real appointment was as governor of the Punjab in succession to Murtazā Khān.

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[1] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, trans. 1909, Vol. I, p. 311. [2] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Vol. I, pp. 326, 336.

[3] This must refer to the son of a previous Raja as Hari Chand was then only a child.

[4] *Tuzūk.*, Vol. I, pp. 326 and 336.

[1] He, however, never reached his destination. "When he arrived at Lahore he heard that Sangrām, one of the Zamindars (Chiefs) of the hill country of the Punjab, had attacked his place and taken possession of a part of his province. Considering it of the first importance to drive him out, he went against him. As Sangrām had not the power to oppose him, he left the country of which he had taken possession, and sought refuge in difficult hills and places. Rāja Mān pursued him there and in his great pride, not looking to the means by which he could advance and retreat, came up to him with a small force. When Sangrām saw that he had no way to flee by, in accordance with this couplet:—

Chun waqt-i-zarurat na mānad gurez
Daste ba-gīrad sir-i-shamsher tez.
In time of need when no (way of) flight is left,
"The hand seizes the haft of the sharp sword."

"A fight took place, and according to what was decreed, a bullet struck Rāja Mān and he delivered his soul to the Creator thereof. His men were defeated and a great number of them killed. The remainder, wounded, abandoned their horses and arms, and with a hundred alarms escaped half dead." The siege of Kangra fort was then abandoned for a time.[2]

[3] Though baffled in his first attempt to capture Kangra Fort, Jahāngīr did not abandon the enterprise, and when a letter was laid before him in the autumn of A.D. 1617 from Suraj Mal of Nurpur, asking permission to reinvest the fort, and capture it, the project was at once revived. Suraj Mal had returned from the Dakhan along with Shāhjahān and seems to have been anxious to find a pretext for getting back to the hills. The letter was addressed to Shāhjahān and in it Suraj Mal gave an undertaking to capture the fortress within a year. Jahāngīr confided the matter to Shāhjahān for inquiry as to the feasibility of the proposal, and on receiving a favourable report the enterprise was sanctioned and all arrangements connected with it were entrusted to the Prince. He selected Suraj Mal and Shāh Quli Khān Mohammad Taqi, his own Bakhshi or paymaster, for the command, and on their waiting on the Emperor and stating their requirements for the siege, the engagement to perform the duty was finally approved. Before leaving, Suraj Mal was honoured with a standard and drums and was also presented with a *khilat* or dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *khapwa* (dagger), and Muhammad Taqi with a *khilat*. They were then ordered to start for Kāngra, and were dismissed by the Emperor on the 17th Mihr, A.H. 1026 (September A.D. 1617).[4]

The following reference occurs in the Memoirs: "On the 12th Shahryār (12th Sept. A.D. 1617) a letter came from my son, Khurram (Shāhjahān), that Rāja Suraj Mal, son of Raja Baso, whose territory is near the fort of Kāngra, had promised that in the course of a year he would bring the fort into the possession of the servants of

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[1] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, Vol. I, pp. 361-2.
[2] This was in the end of A.D. 1616 or in January 1617. Raja Sangrām was probably the ruler of Jammu.
[3] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, Vol. I, p. 388.
[4] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 392.

the victorious State. He (Khurram) also sent his (Suraj Mal's) letter which covenanted for this. I ordered that after comprehending his desires and wishes and satisfying himself with regard to them, he should send off the Rāja to wait on me, so that he might set about the said duty." [1]

Shāhjahān seems to have been quite satisfied as to the feasibility of the undertaking and reported accordingly. Suraj Mal was selected to command the expedition in association with Muhammad Taqi, the prince's Bakhshi or paymaster, and both were presented to the Emperor for final sanction of all requirements for the siege. In the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* we find the following note: "On the 13th (Mihr) Rāja Suraj Mal, together with Taqi, the *bakhshi*, who was in attendance on Bābā Khurram, came and waited on me. He (Suraj Mal) represented all his requirements. His engagement to perform the work was approved and at the request of my son he was honoured with a standard and drums. To Taqi who had been appointed with him, a jewelled *Khapwa* (dagger) was given, and it was arranged that he should finish his own affairs and start off quickly............... On the same day (17th Mihr), after presenting Suraj Mal with a dress of honour, an elephant and a jewelled *Khapwa*, and Taqi with a dress of honour, I gave them leave to proceed on duty to Kāngra." [2]

Suraj Mal, however, was insincere throughout; his only object seemingly being to get back to the hills to raise trouble. This danger was foreseen by some but as the arrangements were in Shāhjahān's hands no one could advise, though, as the historian remarks, "it was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution to allow Suraj Mal to re-enter the hill country."

Soon after reaching Kāngrā he began to quarrel with Muhammad Taqi, with a view to get rid of him, so that he (Suraj Mal) might be left in sole command. He sent complaints to Shāhjahān, that the Bakhshi was incompetent and that the siege was being delayed. Muhammad Taqi was therefore recalled. Having now a free hand, Suraj Mal, on the pretext that their supplies were exhausted, dispersed many of the imperial contingents to their *jāgīrs* for re-equipment, in anticipation of the arrival of the new commander. Having in this way weakened the Mughal army he began to raise a disturbance, and with his own troops ravaged the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, and carried off all he could lay his hands on in the shape of money and movable property. The siege of Kāngrā Fort was thus interfered with and fell into abeyance.

On hearing of the revolt, Jahāngīr, who was then at Ahmadābād, at once despatched one of his commanders, Sundar Das, Rāi Rāiyān, with reinforcements to suppress it. Suraj Mal after sustaining a defeat took refuge in Maukot, and on its capture by a *coup-de-main* he escaped and fled to Nurpur and finally to Chamba where he died in A.D. 1619.

On the occurrence of the outbreak, Jagat Singh, the youngest son of Raja Bāsu of Nurpur, was summoned from Bengal "in the greatest haste" to assist the Mughals,

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 388. [2] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol I, pp. 392-3 of 1909.

and on his brother's death and the collapse of all resistance, he was made Raja of Nurpur and ordered to join the Rāī-Rāīyān in the siege of Kāngrā Fort, which was resumed on October 4th, A.D. 1619.

The garrison made a brave resistance and suffered great straits, subsisting on leaves, etc., for some months before the surrender in November A.D. 1620. It was then garrisoned by imperial troops under Nawāb Ali Khān, the first Faujdār or Governor of the hills, and it continued to be so held till A.D. 1783.

There are several references to the final siege of Kāngrā Fort in the time of Jahāngīr, both in his own memoirs and in the contemporary histories. In the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* we find the following: [1] "When Jahāngīr came to the throne he resolved on conquering it (Kāngrā) and first of all ordered Shekh Farīd Murtazā Khān on the duty, he being then Governor of the Punjab. Before he could carry the campaign to completion he died. Then the work was entrusted to Rāja Suraj Mal. As every matter requires observation of the age and every business depends on the occasion selected, that man of evil disposition hastened to do the reverse of what was desired. At that period, by the strong resolve of the Prince and Heir-apparent (Shāhjahān), and the handsome exertions of Rāja Bikramajīt, this knot so long in being untied, began to get unloosed."

"After the return from that campaign (in the Dakhan) he (Suraj Mal) opened a correspondence and undertook the conquest of Kāngrā. Although to allow him to re-enter that hill country was utterly opposed to the rules of care and caution, yet the undertaking having been committed to the charge of the Prince (Shāhjahān) he selected Suraj Mal to command the expedition, jointly with Shāh Quli Khān Muhammad Taqi, the Bakhshi of his own establishment."

"Then having succeeded in his aim, he (Suraj Mal) began to quarrel with Shāh Qulī Khān and wrote to the Prince that he found it impossible to get on with the Khān, who was incapable of carrying out the work. If another Commander were appointed it would be quite easy to conquer the fort. In consequence, Shāh Quli Khān was recalled to Court and Rāja Vikramajīt, one of the nobles of the Empire, was sent off at the head of reinforcements."

"Considering that his opportunity had arrived, Suraj Mal, before the Rāja Bikramajīt reached the spot, began by sending away various bodies of imperialists, on the pretext that, from the length of the campaign, their resources were exhausted. By returning to the *parganas* they held in *jāgīr* they could refurnish themselves, in anticipation of the Rāja's arrival. On their departure, this seeker of an opening for trouble manifested signs of rebellion and disturbance, and stretched forth the hand of oppression and usurpation. He ravaged most of the *parganas* at the foot of the hills, which were in the *jāgīr* of I'timād-ud-daula (father of Nur Jahan Begam) and carried off all he could lay his hands on in the shape of cash and moveables."

"Sayid Safi Bārhāh, with the remainder of the contingents, who in spite of Suraj Mal's orders giving them leave had not yet departed for their *jāgīrs*, and a

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[1] *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 176-7-8. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 112-113-114.

body of his own followers made a firm stand and drank the cup of martyrdom. Some were wounded and some attained a safe refuge by swiftness of foot."

[1] The remainder of the account is much fuller in the Bādshāhnāmah, and is therefore given. It is as follows:—"Now we turn to the story of Suraj Mal of which a mere hint was given in the course of the narrative about Jagat Singh."

"When Raja Bāsu (of Nurpur) died his son Suraj Mal was raised to his dignities. But from ingratitude he rebelled, just as had been the practice of his turbulent ancestors. By his guile and devices he brought over to his side all the zamindars in the hills north of the Punjab. He then began to ravage the *parganas* along the foot of the hills in the Punjab. The Emperor Jahāngīr, then in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, heard of this rising and resolved on the extirpation of the rebel and the capture of the strong fortress, of Kāngrā, situated in the hills to the north of Panjab, and on a high mountain."

"For ages none of the rulers of Hindustan who tried to take it had succeeded, not even Akbar. That sovereign sent against it Husain Qulī Khān, Turkmān, entitled Khān Jahān, Governor of the Punjab. The fortress was invested for a long time but the general had to retreat without effecting his purpose. The matter was left over for Jahāngīr to undertake."

"The Emperor had a high opinion of the qualities as soldier and ruler of the Rāí Rāíyān, who had recently returned after obtaining victories over Fath, Jām, and Bihar, rulers of Kachh, bringing them to Court in his train."

"The Emperor on the 23rd Ramzān of 1027 H. (September 13th, A.D. 1618) sent him at the head of a large army from Ahmadābād. The imperial orders were to dispose first of Suraj Mal and then make an attack on Kāngrā Fort."

"The general on reaching the hill country planned to get rid of Suraj Mal. The latter, on learning this intention, sought shelter in Mau Fort.[2] It was a place of safety belonging to his father and his predecessors. It is surrounded with jungle and trees with closely intertwined branches. There Suraj Mal prepared to stand a siege. Rāí Rāíyān and his men arrived at the foot of the fort and took it by a *coup-de-main* (literally, without dismounting), and after their entry began to slay and capture prisoners and many were killed. While the contest was going on, Suraj Mal found means of escaping and moved on with his followers to the fort of Nurpur. The place had been erected by his father in a very strong position. In ancient days its name was Dhamehri but he changed it to *Nurpur* in honour of the Emperor.[3] He made it his home and dwelling-place."

[4] "The Mughals rendered it impossible for him (Suraj Mal) to remain. He fled to Asrāl[5] which is above Nurpur upon a mountain difficult of access, adjoining the Chambiyāl boundary. It is protected by close-growing trees."

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[1] *Bādshāhnāmah*, p. 285 *et seq.*

[2] He had previously tried by flattery and deceit to gain the favour of the Rāí Rāíyān, and then attacked the Mughals and was defeated. Cf. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, ii. 184-185, 238.

[3] Jahāngīr's name was Nur-ud-dīn.

[4] Probably Perigarh in Asrāl ka Bāsa, near Kotila, is indicated. Tāragarh had not then been built

[5] Cf. *Shash Fateh-i-Kangra*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 521 to 526.

"When this matter was reported to him, Rāí Rāíyān and his army went in rapid pursuit and invested the fort. As soon as he reached it, Suraj Mal abandoned it also and by swiftness of foot delivered himself from those tigers of the forest of War. He sought protection from the Zamindār of Chambā."

"The Mughals marched back to Nurpur and thence went out to reduce the neighbouring strong places, all difficult of approach and surrounded by thorny trees, viz. Hārā and Thāri and Nesa Nagrota, Sur and Jawāli."

"Their next efforts were directed against fort Kotilah. It lies between Kāngrā and Nurpur and has a stream on three sides of it; the remaining side has a path most difficult to be crossed over. Madhu Singh, brother of Suraj Mal, had taken refuge there. The place was surrounded and in three days it was taken. Mādhu Singh fled and joined his brother. When the whole of Suraj Mal's territory had been occupied Rāí Rāíyān then started for the Chamba State."

"On the way he learned that Suraj Mal had died. He was an ungrateful man who owed his title of Raja and his succession to his father to the recommendations of Shāhjahān (then Prince Khurram). Champāl (Chamba) was written to that his own safety and that of his dominions depended on his forwarding at once the cash and property belonging to Suraj Mal. If he did not he would speedily be destroyed. As he was aware of what had happened to Suraj Mal, he sent his (Suraj Mal's) cash and goods and that fugitive's brother, Mādhu Singh, in charge of his own son and his brother, to the Rāí Rāíyān's camp. Rāi Rāíyān sent them all on to Shahjahan's camp."[1]

"As the rains were coming on and no sufficient supplies could be procured it was decided by a Council of War to retire on Nurpur. On the 24th Shawwāl 1028 H. equal to the 1st of Mihr (Oct. 4, A.D. 1619) Kāngrā was invested. Commanders were told off to the various batteries, the excavation of covered ways began and mines with galleries were put in hand. The besieged relied on the strength of their fortress and strengthened their bastions and curtains. Fighting became frequent. The garrison were reduced to such straits from the absence of grain that they stripped the bark from the trees and, boiling it, used it to keep body and soul together. Brought to the last extremity they asked for terms. It is the characteristic of the Mughal dynasty to be merciful and forgiving. Ala' Hazrat (Prince Khurram) out of the generosity of his disposition accepted their petition and applied to Jahāngīr for the pardon of their offences. A *farmān* came stating that they were forgiven, on condition that the fortress be at once made over to Rāí Rāíyān, and they come themselves to the imperial Court. There they would have their lives spared."

"After this imperial order was received, on the 25th Zu'l Hijjah 1029 H., equivalent to the 1st of Adar (20th Nov. A.D. 1620), Hari Singh, son of Tilok Chand, Chief of the garrison, being then twelve years of age, made over the fortress to Rāí Rāíyān. He (Hari Singh) with one, Sikandar, his uncle and chief officer, and

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[1] Shahjahan was in charge of the campaign, but does not seem to have accompanied the force under Suraj Mal, but he appears to have joined the Army under Rāí Rāíyān, and probably had his camp at Pathankot.

the rest of the garrison, appeared before the Rāí Rāíyān. He left trusted men in charge of the fortress, and placing Hari Singh and the rest under surveillance he began his march to the Court."

"On an early day in Di of the year 1030 H. (1st Di=Dec. 25th A.D. 1620), on the day when Jahāngīr after his march from Kashmir entered Lahore, he (Rāí Rāíyān) was received in audience. As he had been the victor in such a campaign, on the prayer of Prince K͟hurram he was made a Raja by Jahāngīr."

The siege had lasted one year two months and some days, as we learn from the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*. It seems clear that Triloka Chand was not then in power. He was probably dead.

[1] Jahāngīr was rejoiced to hear of the capture of Kāngrā Fort, and in his Memoirs we find the following from his own hand: "On Monday 5th Muharram, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kāngrā arrived. Kāngrā is an ancient fort, situated in the hills north of Lahore, and has been renowned for its strength and security from the days of its foundation. The Zamindars (Chiefs) of the Punjab believe that this fort has never passed into the possession of another tribe, and that no stranger's hand has ever prevailed against it, but God knows." Since the day that the sword of Islām and the glory of the Muhammadan religion have reigned in Hindustan, not one of the mighty Sultāns had been able to reduce this fort. Sultān Firoz Shāh, a monarch of great power, besieged it for a long time, but he found that the place was so strong and secure that it was impossible to reduce it, so long as the garrison had provisions. When this humble individual ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtazā K͟hān, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Murtazā K͟hān died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Raja Bāsu, was afterwards sent against it, but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after the traitor was made prisoner and executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince K͟hurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of Shawwāl, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate. But when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, Muharram 1, 1031 H." There is a discrepancy in the records as to the actual date of surrender—one authority has 1030 H.=A.D. 1620 and the other 1031 H.=A.D. 1621; [2] but in any case the news must have travelled

[1] *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī.* Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 374-5.

According to the *Tūzuk-i-Jakāngīrī* the fort was invested on the 16th of Shawwāl A.H. 1029 (5th September A.D. 1620) and captured on the 1st of Muharram A.H. 1031 (6th November A.D. 1621). The respective dates given in the *Bādshahnāma* are the 24th of Shawwāl A.H. 1028 (24th September 1619) and the 25th of Zu'l Hij A.H. 1029 (11th November 1620).

[2] Probably the latter date is the correct one as it is the one given by the Emperor himself. The surrender was probably made on 1st Muharram = 20th November, A.D. 1621, as Jahāngīr states that the siege began in Shawwāl (Sept. or Oct.) 1029 H. = AD. 1620, and it lasted fourteen months.

fast to reach Jahāngīr in ten days at the most, in Kashmir, where he then seems to have been. From the Emperor's note as well as other indications it would appear that Prince Khurram (Shāhjahān) was in command of the expedition, though not actually at Kāngrā. His camp may have been at Nurpur or Pathānkot.

[1] The following extract from the *Shash Fath-i-Kangra*, probably by Jalāla Tibatiba in the reign of Shāhjahān, is given as an example of the flowery and extravagant style of some of the Muhammadan authors. It was written to show the author's ingenuity in composing, in six different styles, the account of the capture of Kangra Fort. The early part of the First Conquest is taken up with an account of the rebellion of Suraj Mal of Nurpur, which was suppressed by the Rāī Rāīyan, also called Rāja Vikramajīt. It then continues as follows: "Immediately on approaching the fort (Kangra), he (Rāī Rāīyān) surrounded it with his troops; and although his religion was calculated to make him revolt from such a proceeding, yet, for the sake of his master, he used all his exertions to conquer it. He acted contrary to his creed, of which he was a most devoted adherent, rather than become guilty of disloyalty and ingratitude, and considered the service of his master equal to the service of God; for in this fort there was a temple of Devi; who is one of the greatest goddesses of the Hindus, and to worship which idol people resorted to this place in great numbers from the remotest parts of the country. Raja Bikramajīt was one of the most faithful and obedient servants of the throne. He was attached to the Emperor's interests to such a degree that in promoting them he would fear no danger, and there was nothing too difficult to be surmounted by his bold and daring spirit. Although his ancestor did not possess the title of 'Raja,' and hereditary honours did not therefore inspire any confidence in his character, yet by his own meritorious services he obtained the title of Bikramajit, and the *mansab* or rank of a commander of 5,000 horse. Entire power was placed in his hands in the execution of the present command. In short, Bikramajīt, having surrounded the fort, ordered intrenchments to be made and mines to be dug in their proper places. Each officer was appointed to a certain service and he himself remained to superintend the whole. He led on several gallant attacks upon the fort. The warriors of the royal army fought very bravely with the enemy, and the Rajputs displayed ashtonishing feats of valour. The besiegers at last effected a breach in the walls and forced a passage into the fort. A most sanguinary contest ensued. The brave soldiers of the royal army shot a great number of their opponents with their arrows, and like lightning opened a dreadful fire on them. The warriors fought so boldly that they rivalled the celebrated Sām and Narimān in feats of chivalry; and the musketeers threw such a shower of balls that the heavens appeared to have hid themselves under the veil of clouds. The whole atmosphere was filled with the smoke of the guns. The arrows of the archers made so many holes in the shields of their antagonists that they resembled the hives of bees; and the breasts of the fighters, from the wounds they received, became as hollow as the scales of a balance. The nooses which the besiegers threw towards the enemy were so strong that

[1] Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 524-5-6.

they might have drawn down the milky way in the heavens. The musket-balls, which fell at a very great distance and with much velocity, exceeded in number the drops of rain, and the noise of drums drowned that of thunder. The shouts of triumph and the sounds of the musical instruments reached the heavenly regions, and confounded Jupiter in the fifth heaven. At last the opponents, being entirely defeated, found their safety in flight. Although they had made a vigorous resistance, and showed much intrepidity and courage in defending themselves, yet the brave warriors advanced to the attack with such great impetuosity, and their ardour and zeal were so unremitting, that towards the close of day the gale of victory blew upon the royal standard, and a complete overthrow was given to the enemy, whom their mighty hand compelled to surrender the key of the fort. Raja Bikramajīt triumphantly entered the fort, appointed trustworthy officers to protect the property, which might be found there, and placed *'amils* at different stations where they were required. After this signal victory, he made the whole army happy by offering them his thanks, praising them for their valorous deeds, and rewarding every man with goods and cash according to his deserts. He also increased the *mansabs* of those warriors who distinguished themselves in battle. He took possession of all the treasure which had been amassed by the Rajas of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms to the poor and the needy."

The famous fort thus passed away from the possession of the Katoch princes and for a hundred and sixty years probably not one of them was ever inside its walls. A strong garrison was left in charge which defied all attempts to retake it, and we read of none in any of the records. It also seems certain that the whole State was annexed by the Mug͟hals along with the fort, only the district of Rājgir being assigned as a *jāgīr* for the maintenance of the royal family.

That Hari Chand on growing up to manhood was content to remain quiet under the loss of his ancestral home, as well as his family patrimony, seems highly improbable. Although the records tell us nothing we may safely conclude that in his reign the guerilla warfare began which became so acute in the following reign, and caused the Mug͟hal governors of Kangra so much trouble.

[1] A short time after the capitulation, that is in the spring of A.D. 1622, Jahāngīr visited Kangra in person. He probably came by way of Guler and returned by Nurpur and Pathānkot.

This visit is still recalled in local tradition and it is said that he was so fascinated with the beauty of the valley that he ordered a palace to be built for himself, and the foundations were actually laid and the site still exists in Mauza Gargari. The work, however, proceeded no further, probably Kashmir had greater attractions for him.

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[1] Kangra Settlement Report, p. 8, 1889. Cf. J.P.H.S. Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 115.

A similar tradition exists in Nurpur, associated with the name of Nur Jahān Begam who accompanied the Emperor on the occasion in question.

[1] The account of this visit to Kangra in the *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī* from the Emperor's own pen is so interesting that we give it in full: "The extreme heat of Agra was uncongenial to my constitution, so on the 12th Aban in the sixteenth year of my reign, I started for the mountain country on the north intending, if the climate proved suitable, to build a town somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, to which I might resort in the hot weather. If I could not find a place that suited me, I intended to proceed further towards Kashmir . . . On the 7th De, I arrived at Hardwār on the Ganges and there halted, but as the climate of the skirts of the mountains was not pleasant, and I found no place appropriate for a residence, I resolved to proceed further to the mountains of Jammu and Kāngrā. On the 14th I arrived at Bahlun, a dependency of Sība, and as I had a great desire for the air of Kāngrā, I left my great camp at this place, and proceeded onwards with a few special attendants and servants towards the fortress. I'timad-ud-daula (father of Nur Jahān Begam) was ill, so I left him behind with the camp under the charge of Sadīk Khān *Mīr-bakhshi*. On the following day the intelligence was brought that a change for the worse had come over the Khān, and the signs of dissolution were manifest. Moved by the distress of Nur Jahān Begam and by the affection I had for him, I returned to the Camp. At the close of the day I went to see him. He was at the time insensible, and Nur Jahān, who was by my side, made signs and asked if I perceived (his critical state). I stayed by his pillow two hours; whenever he came to his senses his words were intelligible and sensible. On the 17th of the month he died, and I felt inexpressible sorrow at the loss of such an able and faithful minister, and so wise and kind a friend."

"After this I went on towards Kāngrā and after four days' march encamped on the river Bān-Ganga. . . . On the 24th of the month I went to pay a visit to the fortress, and I gave orders that the *Kāzi*, the Chief Justice and others learned in the law of Islam, should accompany me, and perform the ceremonies required by our religion. After passing over about half a *kos* we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *Khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighly for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress."

As we have already seen, one of the gates in the fort is called *Jahāngīrī Darwāza*, having been erected by order of the Emperor. On the gate, it is said, was inscribed the date of the conquest, on a marble slab. When Rāja Sansār Chand took the fort, in A.D. 1786, he removed the stone with Jahāngīr's name on it, and stored it in the room near the gateway without injuring it. Subsequently, in A.D. 1837, when Prince Nau Nihāl Singh was on a visit to the hills on pilgrimage, to visit the holy

[1] *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngiri.* Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 381-2.

places, he saw the stone and had it removed to Lahore, where it stood in his mansion.

There is also an interesting reference in the Memoirs to an incident relating to Chambā which occurred on the occasion of Jahāngīr's visit to Kāngrā. He was evidently waited upon by the hill chiefs and among them was the Rāja of Chambā. He says: "At this stage the offering of the Rāja of Chambā was laid before me. His country is 25 *kos* beyond Kāngrā. There is no greater Zamindār in these hills than this. The country is the asylum of all the zamindārs of the country. It has passes difficult to cross. Until now he had not obeyed any king nor sent offerings. His brother also was honoured by paying his respects and on his part performed the dues of service and loyalty. He seemed to me to be reasonable and intelligent, and urbane. I exalted him with all kinds of patronage and favour."

The Rāja of Chamba at the time was Bala Bhadra who had been temporarily removed from power, his place being taken by his son, Janārdan. It was probably the latter who waited on Jahāngīr, along with his brother Bishambar. Both of them were killed in the following year in a war with Jagat Singh of Nurpur. The reference is interesting as proving that Chambā had not then come under the control of Nurpur as it did shortly afterwards.

From its capture in November A.D. 1621 Kangra Fort remained in the possession of the Mughals till A.D. 1783, when it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The first Faujdār or Governor was Nawāb Ali Khān who was succeeded by his son whose name is believed to have been Hurmat Khān. During the reign of Shāhjahān the fort was held by Nawāb Asad Ullah Khān and Koch Quli Khān, the latter retaining charge for seventeen years till his death. He is buried on the banks of the Mununi river, a branch of the Bānganga, which flows under Kāngrā Fort. According to tradition the greater part of the State was annexed after the fall of the fort, only the district of Rājgir being left as a *Jāgīr* for the support of the royal family.

After the fall of the fort the capital must have been transferred elsewhere but the records are silent on the subject. In the unsettled condition of the country the Rāja possibly had no fixed place of residence. That the *tālūqa* of Rājgir was granted as a *jāgīr* seems fairly certain, but it was probably resumed soon afterwards in consequence of rebellion. Hari Chand is said to have been flayed alive, and this corroborates the assumption that he was engaged in guerilla warfare during the whole of his reign. As he was only twelve years old in A.D. 1621, he may have lived till A.D. 1635, but according to tradition he was killed by Jahāngīr, and if so the event must have taken place before A.D. 1627, the year in which that Emperor died.

Chandar Bhān Chand, c. A.D. 1635.—As Hari Chand died childless there was probably a long interregnum, during which one Miān Chandar Bhān Chand continued to prosecute the guerilla warfare against the Mughals. He was descended from Kalyān Chand, younger brother of Rāja Dharm Chand, and was probably the next in succession to the *gaddi* after Hari Chand. His spirited but useless defiance of the Mughals still lives in the grateful memory of the people who love to tell of the long and brave resistance which he offered. He began by plundering the country and forces were

sent in pursuit but failed to capture him. At length an army was sent against him from Delhi, when he retired to the lofty hill, 9,000 ft. high, on the outskirts of the Dhaula Dhār, which has ever since been called by his name, *Chandar Bhān ka tīla.*[1] He was eventually captured and taken to Delhi where he was detained a close prisoner. There are no references to Kangra in any of the Muhammadan records of the time, and we are dependent chiefly on local tradition, which has preserved many stories of Chandar Bhān's exploits. A work of comparatively recent date, the Tārīkh-i-Panjāb, already referred to, has a different account of those times, evidently drawn from tradition. According to it Chandar Bhān Chand was in the Kangra fort at the time of the siege, and effected his escape. He then entered on a career of plunder and had a reputation like that of one Miāṇ Dido in Jammu territory in the reign of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh. The imperialist nobles in the fort went in pursuit of him but failed to capture him, and this state of guerilla warfare lasted for many years.

At length in despair, those in charge of the country devised a plan for restoring order, *viz.* that the Emperor should grant a *jāgīr* to Chandar Bhān Chand on condition of his submission. This met with the approval of the Emperor, but with the further condition that Chandar Bhān Chand should attend at Court. To this he agreed and was favourably received and the *tālūqa* of Rājgir was granted in *jāgīr*, yielding one lakh of rupees annually. Probably this was simply a restoration of the *jāgīr* granted to Hari Chand which had been confiscated for rebellion. This it is assumed took place in the reign of Shāhjahān.

Soon afterwards, as the account states (A.D. 1640-41), Rāja Jagat Singh of Nurpur rebelled, and an imperial army was sent to coerce him, and all the hill Rājas were summoned, among them being Chandar Bhān Chand. It is said that he was promised the restoration of his state if he secured Jagat Singh's submission. He came with his four sons—Vijai Rām, Udāi Ram, Dalpat, and Narpat—and joined the Mughal army, besieging Maukot. For a time he served in the entrenchments, and was ultimately killed in an assault on the fort.

The period of Kangra history for some time after the capture of the fort in A.D. 1621 is very confused and uncertain, but it seems clear as already noted that on the occupation of the fort the whole territory was annexed, only the *jāgīr* of Rājgir being assigned to the royal family. With this Hari Chand was dissatisfied and broke out into rebellion, and he seems to have given trouble all through his reign till captured and killed probably about A.D. 1635. The guerilla war was then taken up by Chandar Bhān who may have been previously associated with Hari Chand, and was prolonged for many years. The story of his having been killed at Maukot is improbable, as he is said to have been finally captured in the reign of Aurangzeb, possibly about A.D. 1660. In all the documents he is referred to as *Miān* Chandar Bhān and is not given the title of *Rāja*, from which we may perhaps assume that there was no fully invested chief of the Katoch house in power for many

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1 This hill is a spur from the Dhaula Dhār above Dādh, and half-way between Dharmsala and Pālampur.

years. It is not even certain that he was next in the succession after Hari Chand, though he probably was, but in any case his brave struggle for the independence of his country secured the devoted attachment of his countrymen, who to the present time hold his name in grateful remembrance. Chandar Bhān is said to have built a fort near Nirwānah, east of Dharmsāla, and the ruins of his fort on the Chandar Bhān hill may still be seen. On his capture or death he was succeeded by his son Vijai Rām Chand.

Vijai Rām Chand, c. A.D. 1660.—According to the *Tārīkh-i-Punjāb*, Vijai Rām was summoned by the Emperor on his father's death, and failing to appear, the *rājtilak* or mark of investiture was conferred on his brother, Udai Rām, along with the grant of the *jāgīr* of Rājgir and also five other *tālūqas, viz.* Nadaun, Pālam, Mahal-sarae, Jai-sukh, and Malhār. It seems more probable, however, that Vijai Rām succeeded his father. He seems to have founded the town of Vijaipur or Bijapur which was his capital, and it continued to be the place of residence of the Rājas till the reign of Rāja Sansār Chand. The old palace buildings are still in existence though now in a state of decay and untenanted. Vijai Rām Chand died without a direct heir and was succeeded by his brother Udai Ram.

Udai Rām Chand, A.D. 1687.—His reign seems to have been peaceful as the guerilla warfare had ceased and the Rājas, realizing the fruitless character of the struggle against a powerful foe, had quietly settled down as tributaries of the Mughal. Udai Rām Chand's reign seems to have been very short and he died in A.D. 1690 and was followed by his son Bhīm Chand.

Bhīm Chand, c. A.D. 1690.—During Aurangzeb's reign the Kangra Fort was successively under the charge of Sayid Husain Khān, Hasan Abdulla Khān Pathān, and Nawāb Sayid Khalīl Ullah Khān. "Their rule," Cunningham remarks, "was probably marked by the same intolerant bigotry which distinguished Aurangzeb's governors in other places, as in Multān, Mathura, Gwālior and Benares, where the Hindu temples were destroyed to make way for mosques." Bhīm Chand is mentioned in the records of the time as having leagued with Guru Gobind Singh in order to repel an invasion of his country by the Raja of Jammu and a Mughal Chief named Mian Khān. In this war he was quite successful and drove his adversaries across the Satluj.[1]

Bhīm Chand followed a pacific course and sought to gain the favour of the Emperor by attendance at Court, and in consequence he was called "Diwān." He built a temple at Bijapur which still exists. His younger brother Kripāl Chand made the Bhawārnawali *Kuhl* or watercourse, from one of the snow-fed mountain torrents of the Dhaula Dhār, above Bandla, which is the longest watercourse in Kangra District and supplies a large area. It has made Kripāl Chand's name more famous than that of any Rāja.

Bhīm Chand died in A.D. 1697 and was followed by Ālam Chand.

Ālam Chand, c. A.D. 1697.—This chief had only a brief reign and died in A.D.

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[1] Cf. Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, p. 103

1700. He founded Ālampur, near Sujānpur, where he chiefly resided. In after years this place was greatly enlarged by Sansār Chand, who also made a large garden, which was famous in its day. Ālam Chand was succeeded by his son Hamīr Chand.

Hamīr Chand, A.D. 1700.—Hamīr Chand had a long reign of forty-seven years, but about the events of his time the records are silent. The bulk of the territory was still under the Mug͟hals, who continued to hold the fort. In such circumstances the Katoch Rājas doubtless considered discretion as the better part of valour, and quietly bided their time. Many indications must have occurred in the course of Hamīr Chand's long reign that the break-up of the Mug͟hal Empire was not far distant. Hamīr Chand built a small fort near the place now called Hamīrpur, from which that place, as well as the Hamīrpur Tahsīl, afterwards received their names. He lived long enough to see the appointment of Nawāb Saif Alī K͟hān, about A.D. 1740, who was fated to be the last Mug͟hal Governor of Kāngra.

Abhaya Chand, A.D. 1747.—Being probably in middle life at the time of his accession this Raja's reign was a short one, and he died childless. He erected the *Thākurdwāra* in Ālampur, and also a fort called Abhayamānpur, near Sujānpur, which was dismantled only in 1849.

Ghamīr Chand, A.D. 1750.—On the death of Abhaya Chand without a male heir the *gaddi* passed to his uncle, Ghamīr Chand, the younger brother of Hamīr Chand. His reign, however, was a very brief one, and he died in A.D. 1751 leaving eleven sons, who seem to have been men of indifferent character and disliked by the officials and the people. They were therefore set aside, and Ghamand Chand, a son of Ghamir Chand's younger brother, was raised to power. It is also said that the sons of Ghamīr Chand were all put out of the way.

Ghamand Chand, A.D. 1751.—Ghamand Chand succeeded to the *gaddi* at an eventful period in the history of India. The Mug͟hal Empire was then in the throes of dissolution ; Ahmad Shāh Durāni from the North and the Marāthas from the South struggled for the mastery and everywhere confusion and disorder prevailed. In A.D. 1752 the Punjab, along with the hill states, was ceded to Ahmad Shāh Durāni by the Delhi Emperor. The hour had come at last and the Katoch Rāja, like many more, was not slow to strike a blow for the freedom of his country. Taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, he recovered all the territory that had been wrested from his ancestors by the Mug͟hals, with the exception of Kangra Fort, which held out under the last of the Mug͟hal Faujdārs, Saif Ali K͟hān. Though completely isolated and holding nothing outside the range of his guns, this brave man remained faithful to his trust, and maintained his position against all assailants for forty years. During the whole of that time, it is said, he continued to correspond direct with Delhi. Once only—in 1758—he was compelled to bow to a man stronger than himself,—Adina Beg K͟hān,—then Governor of the Doāb, and afterwards Viceroy of the Punjāb.[1]

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[1] A.S.R., Vol. I, pp. 161-2.

[1] In 1758 Ghamand Chand was appointed Nāzim or Governor of the Jālandhar Doāb by Ahmad Shāh Durāni, and thus acquired the supremacy over all the Hill States of the Jālandhar Circle, between the Satluj and the Rāvi. He also annexed Chauki, the northern half of Kutlehr State, and seized the *tālūqa* of Pālam from Chamba. He is also said to have built or strengthened the fort of Pathiyār, which stood on a lofty ridge not far from Pālampur, but is now in ruins. [2] Kulū also was invaded as mentioned by Moorcroft, and it was probably on that occasion that the figures on the Bajaura Temple were mutilated by his mercenaries. Early in his reign Ghamand Chand recruited a large army of 4,000 Muhammadans, chiefly Rohillas and Afghans, and with it he attacked the Kāngra Fort but was unable to capture it.

Ghamand Chand was a strong ruler under whom the Kāngra State was restored to its ancient limits and to much of its former prestige. Sujānpur on the Bīas above Nadaun, usually called Tarā Sujānpur, the residence of his descendants, was founded by him and embellished with many fine buildings. He died in 1774 and was succeeded by his son Tegh Chand.

Tegh Chand, A.D. 1774.—Tegh Chand's reign was brief. He maintained a large army of mercenaries like his father and pursued the same policy, but of the events of his reign we know little. On his demise in 1776 his son Sansār Chand came to the throne.

Sansār Chand II, A.D. 1776.—Sansār Chand was the most notable chief who ever ruled in Kāngra. He was only ten years of age when he succeeded to the *gaddi*, and his accession marked a time when all was confusion and disorder both in the hills and on the plains. The Punjab had been ceded to the Durānis, but their rule was never fully established. As Mr. Barnes remarks, "The same vigour of character which secured the territory was not displayed in the measures adopted to retain it." There was indeed an Afghan Viceroy at Lahore, but the old Mughal Governors were practically independent in outlying portions of the province and Saif Ali Khān the last of the Mughal Faujdārs still held his own in Kangra Fort. From the middle of the eighteenth century the Sikhs had been rising into power and under their various leaders were everywhere engaged in plunder and rapine.

Jassa Singh Rāmgarhia was the first of these chieftains to invade the Kāngra hills, and Kāngra, Chambā, Nurpur and some other States became tributary to him. In 1775 he was defeated on the plains by Jai Singh Kanheya, another Sikh Chieftain, and had to retire from the hills, leaving the supremacy over the Hill States in the hands of his rival.

Sansar Chand's chief ambition was the capture of Kangra Fort, the ancient home of his ancestors, and soon after coming into power an attempt was made but without success. He then called in to his aid Jai Singh Kanheya, the Sikh Chieftain already referred to, and, in 1781-2, the combined forces again laid siege to the stronghold.[3] The

[1] Kangra Settlement Report, p. 9. [2] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 170.

[3] According to Muhammad Latif the siege took place in 1774, but this must be incorrect as Sansār Chand became Rāja only in 1776. Barnes has 1781-2; cf. *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 309-310, and Kangra Settlement Report, p. 9; also *Tārikh-i-Punjab*.

old Nawāb was then dying and on his demise the fort was surrendered in 1783, but by stratagem it fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The story of its capture as found in one of the records is as follows:—"The siege had lasted a year when the Nawāb died and his remains had to be conveyed to the burial-ground outside the fort The Hazāris, or Mughal gunners from Delhi, were in secret league with Sansār Chand and had arranged to give up the fort to him for a suitable reward, when a favourable opportunity presented itself. As the Nawāb's corpse was being conveyed from the fort to the Imāmbara for burial by his sons, the Hazāris sent word to Sansār Chand to seize the opportunity for an attack. Jai Singh also, however, had information and as his force was nearest the gate, some of his men secured an entrance first. Sansār Chand, though much chagrined, had to acquiesce and bide his time.

This must be the siege referred to by Mr. Forster the traveller who passed through the Kangra hills in March 1783 on his way from Bilāspur to Nurpur and Jammu.[1] He says:— "To deduce this eventful matter *de ovo* (the war) I must call your attention to the days of Acbar, who is said to have been the first Muhamedan prince who reduced the northern mountains of Hindustan to the obedience of the Empire. Towards the northern limit of Kalour (Kahlur) is a stronghold on an eminence, called the Kote Kangrah, the reduction of which detained Acbar, who commanded the expedition in person, a whole year, according to the tradition of this quarter. To reward one of his officers who had signalized himself in this service, he bestowed on him the captured fort, with a considerable space of adjacent territory. The descendants of this chief, who are of the Sheah sect of Mahamedans, continued in the possession until the present period when the Rajah of Kangrah on some pretence laid the districts waste and besieged the fort." At that time the Rānī of Bilāspur, acting as regent for her infant son, was at war with Sansār Chand and in league with the garrison in the fort. "Unable himself," says Forster, "to repel the enemy the Mahometan solicited the aid of the Billaspour Ranee who with the spirit of a heroine, afforded speedy and vigorous succour to her neighbour, whose cause she has already revenged by plundering and destroying almost every village in Kāngra, the chief of which now vainly asserts that the Ranee, seeing his country destitute of defence, seized under colour of assisting her ally, the occasion of augmenting her own power."

Mr. Forster entered the hills at Nahun and crossed the Satluj at Bilāspur. The common road onward to Jammu, as he states, lay through Nadaun and Haripur, but these places being overrun by the Sikhs he was obliged to deviate from the usual track and proceed to the westward. He passed through the Bilāspur Camp to the Kāngra Camp, and he estimated the Bilāspur army at "about 300 horse and 8000 footmen armed with matchlocks, swords, spears and clubs, huddled together on two sides of a hill in a deep state of confusion and filth."

At the Kāngra Camp, Forster says, only a small body chiefly of horse was stationed, the greater part of the forces, under the command of the Rāja, being engaged

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[1] Foster, *Travels*.

in the siege of Kāngra Fort. The surrender of the fort must have taken place soon afterwards. The camp of the Bilāspur army seems to have been between Kumara Hatti (Kahlur) and Lalalri (Hamīrpur Tahsīl in Kāngra) just south of the boundary of Hamīrpur Tahsil. It is interesting to note that Forster speaks of Kāngra under its ancient name of Katochin. He says :— "The territory of Kangra or Katochin is limited on the north and north-west by Huricpour (Haripur), on the east by Chambay (Chamba), on the south by Kalour (Bilāspur), and on the west by the Punjab. The ordinary revenue, estimated at seven lacks of rupees, has been much diminished by the chief's alliance with the Sicques." Forster's reference to the capture of the Fort by Akbar is incorrect. The siege in A.D. 1572 was conducted by Husain Quli K͟hān, and Akbar was not present. That the fort was under the command of a hereditary succession of Governors is also improbable.

Vigne also is wrong in stating that Kāngra was originally a *jāgīr* which the Mug͟hal emperors granted to different Nawābs, and that it never had its own Rāja. He may simply have been misinformed, for it seems hardly possible that the ancient history of the State could have been forgotten. His account of the capture of the fort after the death of Saif-Ali Khān, the last Mug͟hal Governor, is also confused and inaccurate. [1] He says :— "The last of these Nawābs (of Kangra) was named Syf Ali, who made himself independent when the dynasty of Delhi was declining. After his death, his Vuzir, Hazara Byrsa, was also master of the neighbouring provinces of Koteli and Rilu, and took the revenues of these places for his own use at the same time that Sinsar Chund of Tira was laying siege to Kangra. The father-in-law of Ranjit was a great friend of the Vuzir and marched to relieve the castle of Kangra but was called away by Ranjit and killed in a fray at Amritsir. Sinsar Chund then took possession of the country for twenty-five years. These are probably the incidents of the war, noticed by Forster in his Travels in the year 1783, Vol. I, p. 240."

[2] Muhammad Latīf again states that Jai Singh Kanheya, on being called in by Sansār Chand, bribed Jewan K͟hān, son of Saif Ali K͟hān, who was then dead, to vacate the fort, and thus got possession of it. The various accounts are thus conflicting, but probably that first given is the correct one. The fort remained in Jai Singh's possession for four years from its capture in 1783, though Sansār Chand seems to have made several attempts to reduce it. In 1783 a combination was formed against Jai Singh by Maha Singh Sukerchakia, assisted by Jassa Singh Rāmgaṛhia and Sansār Chand. The opposing armies met in battle near Batāla, and Gurbak͟hsh Singh, the favourite son of Jai Singh, was killed. The loss of his son and of a part of his territory broke the heart of the old chieftain, and from that time his power began to decline. For three years Sansār Chand continued to press his claim to Kāngra fort, and at length in 1786 a compromise was made by Jai Singh surrendering the fort and the supremacy over the hill states, in exchange for the restoration of territory on the plains which had been conquered by Sansār Chand.

[3] Cunningham's account also differs somewhat from the others. He says :—"In

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[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I. [2] *History of the Punjab*, Latif. [3] A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 162.

1783 Kangra was besieged by Jay Singh Ghani, a Sikh leader. The old Governor, Seif Ullah, died during the siege and after holding out for five months the fort was surrendered by his son, Zulfikār Khan. Sansar Chand, the titular Raja of Kangra, is said to have instigated this siege and to have been disappointed when the Sikh Chief kept Kangra for himself. Four years later he obtained the aid of other Sikh leaders, and in 1787 Jay Singh was reluctantly obliged to surrender the fort into the hands of Sansar Chand."

[1] With the possession of the fort and supreme power in the hills, Sansār Chand was able to prosecute his ambitious designs. Supported by his large army of mercenaries he completely overawed the hill chiefs, made them tributary and compelled them to attend his Court and send contingents for his military expeditions. In this way, says Mr. Barnes, "he gained a renown which had not been surpassed by any of his ancestors and ruled despotically for twenty years, none daring to resist his will."

Not content with the recovery of his own patrimony, Sansār Chand also demanded from the hill chiefs the surrender to himself, as lord paramount, of all the fertile tracts that had been included in the imperial demesne, attached to the fort in the time of the Mughals. In pursuance of this policy the Chambā Chief was required to make over Rihlu, and on his refusal, the country was invaded and he was killed in battle at Nerti near Shāhpur in defending his rights. Mandi also was in a similar manner subdued and the capital sacked, the young Rāja being made captive and retained as a prisoner at Nadaun for twelve years. Three districts of the State were also seized, one of which was given to Suket, another to Kulū, and the third Sansār Chand retained for himself. His attempt to capture the fortress of Kamlahgarh was unsuccessful.[2]

Other States were treated in a similar manner. For example, in Kutlehr State the district of Chauki, forming the northern half of the principality, had been seized by Ghamand Chand, and Sansār Chand now annexed the southern half, so that the Rāja was entirely dispossessed. On the Gurkha invasion the State was restored.

Sansār Chand's fame spread far and wide and his Court became the resort of all classes of people in search of pleasure or personal advantage. An Indian writer thus describes this golden age in Kangra history[3]:—" For many years he (Sansār Chand) passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Nushīrvan, and a second Akbar in the recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others resorted to Kāngra and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure, who live for the gratification of others, flocked from all quarters and profited exceedingly by his liberality. Performers and story-tellers collected in such numbers and received such gifts and favours at his hands, that he was regarded as the Hātim of that age and, in generosity, the Rustam of the time."

[1] There are twenty-two doors leading into the great darbar hall at Tara Sujanpur, one of which is said to have been assigned to each ruling chief on the occasion of his attendance at Sansar Chand's Court. This was probably meant to indicate his claim to the paramount power over the twenty-two states of the hills—eleven being to the east and elven to the west of the Ravi.

[2] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 66. [3] *Tārikh-i-Punjab* by Ghulam Muhai-ud-din, Fourth Daftar.

Sansār Chand is said to have been a great builder and many places in the State were beautified and embellished by him. He also planted numerous gardens, especially that of Ālampur already referred to, which is said to have rivalled the Shalimār Gardens in Lahore. His court seems to have been held chiefly at Nadaun in the earlier part of his reign, and it was probably at that time that the following popular saying, recorded by Moorcroft and Vigne, and still widely current in the hills, took its origin [1]:—

Aega Nadaun
Jaega Kaun ?

"Who that comes to Nadaun will go away ?"

In later years he resided chiefly at Tara Sujanpur or Alampur.

In 1786 Raja Sansār Chand made some extensive repairs to the Baijnath temple and at the same time added the present entrance porch and the two large side balconies. These had previously existed but had fallen down and disappeared.[2]

For twenty years Sansār Chand ruled as undisputed monarch of the hills, and had he been content with the possessions acquired by himself and his ancestors, he might have passed on his kingdom unimpaired to his posterity. But his overweening ambition carried him too far, and as the Indian writer remarks, "his fortune turned to misfortune and ruin fell upon his life." His dream was to regain the far-reaching dominions of his ancestors and even to establish a Katoch kingdom in the Punjab. A common saying at his court was "*Lahore parāpat*"—"May you acquire Lahore," the wish being father to the thought. But it was only a dream and fated never to be realized.

In 1803-4 he twice invaded the plains in the direction of Hoshyārpur and Bajwārah, but was defeated and driven back by Ranjīt Singh who was then rising into power, and would brook no rivals. Disappointed in his designs on the plains he in 1805 turned his arms against Kahlur (Bilāspur) and annexed the portion of the State lying on the right bank of the Satluj. This act was his undoing and led to his downfall and the extinction of his kingdom. How this was brought about must now be briefly told.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Gurkhas of Nepāl had been seized with an ambition for conquest, similar to that of Sansār Chand, and before the end of the century they had extended their dominion from the Gogra to the Satluj, over the whole of Kumaon, Garhwāl, Sirmaur, and the Simla Hill States. Their design was to establish a great Gurkha kingdom stretching from Nepāl to Kāshmir.[3] With a view to this they approached Ranjīt Singh with a proposal for joint action against the Durānis of Kābul who then ruled the Kāshmīr valley, but the Sikh chief had marked out Kāshmir as his own prize, and gave the Gurkhas no encouragement. Sansār Chand also stood in their way, and Moorcroft states that on their attempting to invade Kangra he drove them back, and a treaty was concluded by which the Satluj was established as a boundary which neither was to pass.[4]

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[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 133. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p 76.

[2] A.S.R., Vol. V, p. 178.

[3] It is even said that they aimed at the conquest of the Punjab; cf. Vigne, Vol. I, p. 138.

[4] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 127.

Sansār Chand's action against Kahlur aroused keen resentment among the other Hill States, and smarting under the many wrongs they had endured at his hands, as well as fearing for their own possessions, the chiefs formed a coalition against him, and sent a united invitation, through the Rāja of Bilāspur, to the Gurkha Commander to invade Kāngra. They also promised the aid of their own contingents whenever he crossed the Satluj. This invitation was wholly acceptable to the Gurkhas, for it was in keeping with their ulterior design.

[1]A short time previous to this, Sansār Chand's army had been weakened by certain changes he had made, for the sake of economy, on, it is said, the advice of Ghulām Muhammad, the deposed Rāja of Rāmpur, who was living in the State. In the time of his father and grandfather the force was recruited chiefly from Rohillas, Afghans and Rajputs drawn from the Delhi and Afghan armies, to whom liberal pay was given. Ghulām Muhammad, who had fought with the British, and had gained a high military reputation, persuaded Sansār Chand to break up his force as needlessly expensive, and levy an army of Rohillas on cheaper terms. These Ghulām Muhammad himself undertook to raise. As soon as the Gurkhas heard of this change they in 1806 broke their treaty and invaded the country before the new levies could come up. Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, who is said to have had an army of 40,000 men, crossed the Satluj at Bilāspur and Jiuri in Suket and was joined by the various contingents from the Hill States of the Kāngra group, and Bilaspur and Basohli, their united forces amounting to about 10,000 men. "All of these Rājas," Vigne states, "took an oath of fidelity to the Gurkha Chief, on the understanding that he was to retain Kangra Fort, and they were to be unmolested in their territories."[2]

Along with the other states, Chamba sent a force to assist the Gurkhas, under the command of Wazīr Nathu, and a letter exists in the State archives from Amar Singh Thapa to Rāja Jīt Singh. He is admonished not to be afraid of Trigaḍh (Kāngra). The Gurkhas, Chamba and Kahlur (Bilāspur), are all one, and Chamba is the Wazīr of the Gurkhas. Jīt Singh is asked to send to Dugar (Jammu) for help and gather all the other Rājas; he is to keep a part of his army at Rihlu and send the rest to Sant Pāl. The letter states that the Katoch troops had seized Pālam, but the Gurkhas drove them out and occupied the Pathiyār Fort. There was much need of money, and the Wazīr (probably Nathu of Chamba) had written for Rs. 4,000. This sum was to be sent at once and news would be received in two months. The letter is not dated but was probably written in 1806-7.

A second letter also exists, in the same handwriting but without name or date, in which assistance in money is asked, and it is stated that Rs. 4,000 had been promised, of which only Rs. 1,000 had been sent.[3]

It is interesting to note that Kāngra was still known as Trigaḍh, that is Trigaṛ or Trigaṛta, down to that time. The name has now become disused.

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 128-9.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 137-8-9.

[3] Chamba Museum Catalogue, App. VI, p. 73. C. 57, C. 58, with which cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 140; also Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 137-8-9.

The first encounter took place in Mahal Morian, and Sansār Chand made a brave stand, but was defeated, and though the new levies under G͟hulām Muhammad came to his aid they too were encountered and dispersed.[1] The Gurkhas then advanced into the country and on reaching Nadaun they liberated the Rāja of Mandi who, as already stated, had been detained as a prisoner for twelve years, and sent him back to his State. Sansār Chand first took up a position at Tarā to harass the enemy and later sought refuge in Kāngra Fort along with his family. The supplies of grain for the garrison had been sufficient for twelve years, but want of care and actual waste had exhausted them in a much shorter period, while the sources of supply in Guler had been closed by the defection of the Guleria Rāja, Sansār Chand's own near relative, and the head of the senior branch of the Katoch clan; so heavy had his hand been even upon his own kinsmen that they all deserted him in his hour of need.

[2] The Gurkhas then advanced into the heart of the country and laid siege to the fort, but all their efforts to capture it were fruitless. For four years they plundered and laid waste the country, and so dreadful were the ravages they committed that the inhabitants deserted their homes and fled into neighbouring states. The country was thus partly depopulated, the land was uncultivated, wild animals roamed about the towns, and grass grew in the deserted streets. "The memory of those disastrous days," says Mr. Barnes, "stands out as a landmark in the annals of the hills. Time is computed with reference to that period and every misfortune, justly or unjustly, is ascribed to that prolific source of misery and distress. The Gurkhas prepared to establish their success. Certain portions of the country were subdued and held by them, other portions, including the fort of Kāngra and the principal strongholds, remained in the hands of the Katōches. Each party plundered the districts held by the other to weaken his adversaries' resources. The people, harassed and bewildered, fled to the neighbouring kingdoms, some to Chamba, some to the plains of the Jullundur Doāb. Other hill chieftains, incited by Sansār Chand's former oppressions, made inroads with impunity and aggravated the general disorder. For three years this state of anarchy continued. In the fertile valleys of Kāngra not a blade of cultivation was to be seen, grass grew up in the towns and tigresses whelped in the streets of Nadaun."

Meantime the siege of the fort went on. For a time supplies were smuggled in from Pālam, but the Gurkhas cut off these by blocking the river gate of entrance into the fort; and the Rāja and the garrison were without food, and subsisted for four months upon little else than the leaves of vegetables.

[3] After the struggle had continued for four years, Sansār Chand, rendered desperate by the ruin which had come upon his country, and seeing no hope of relief, applied to Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh for help, the Kāngra fort being offered as the price of his assistance. Twice, it is said, the Maharaja set out from Lahore for Kāngra, and

[1] J.P.H.S., Vol. VII, No. I, p. 19. [2] Kangra Settlement Report, p. 10.

[3] Barnes has *three* years, but Moorcroft states that the siege lasted more than four years; cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 129.

turned back; once from Sujānpur near Pathānkot and once from Nurpur. Sansār Chand being in despair then opened negotiations with the Gurkhas to arrange a surrender if permitted to leave the fort with his family. Vigne states that they required Sansār Chand to come out of the fort and take an oath at the shrine of Devi of Malekra in proof of his sincerity. He sent his Wazīr Naurang to take the oath, and thus persuaded them to retire from the gate leading to the river, by which his supplies had come in. During the day he amused them by sending out things that were indispensable and at night brought in fresh supplies. He then secretly left the fort in charge of some of his officers and retired along with his family and his wazīr, Naurang. Once outside the fort and in safety at Tarā Sujanpur he again sent a request for help to Ranjīt Singh, by his brother Fateh Chand and Naurang. In May 1909 Ranjīt Singh marched from Lahore, Naurang accompanying the Sikh camp as far as Pathānkot. From there he hastened to rejoin Sansār Chand, and was secretly readmitted into the fort, which was entrusted to him. Negotiations with the Gurkhas were then broken off. [1] By this time the hill chiefs had all deserted Amar Singh Thapa and were engaged in cutting off his supplies to compel his retirement.

For nearly a month a discussion went on between Ranjīt Singh and the Katōch Chief regarding the conditions on which help would be given, Ranjīt Singh demanding the surrender of the fort before proceeding to expel the Gurkhas. To this Sansār Chand declined to agree. At length by the mediation of Wazīr Nathu (of Chamba) and the Rāja of Guler, an arrangement was come to and the two monarchs met at the temple of Jawāla-Mukhī, when Sansār Chand's terms were accepted, and the Mahārajā with his hand over the sacred flame took an oath to do him no harm.[2]

It is probable that neither of them was sincere in his engagement to fulfil the terms of the treaty; indeed Prinsep states that Sansār Chand played a double part through the whole of the negotiation. Notwithstanding his engagement with Ranjit Singh he could not reconcile himself to the loss of the fort and entered into a treaty with Amar Singh promising to surrender the fort to him, and thus obtaining leave to bring away his family, he managed at the same time to throw in four months' supplies, hoping to keep the fort against both claimants.[3] The Gurkha Commander on hearing of the agreement with Ranjit Singh wrote to warn him against placing any reliance on Sansār Chand, and asking him to conclude an arrangement for the disposal of the fort and territory for a money equivalent, but his proposals were rejected.

On the advice of one of his officers, the Mahārāja then sent for Anirūdh Chand, son of Sansār Chand, from Tara Sujanpur, in order to hold him as a hostage for the fulfilment of the treaty. On his arrival he was received with all honour and placed in charge of Fateh Singh Ahluwālia. Ranjīt Singh then advanced to Kāngra Fort in August 1809, and attacked the Gurkhas, who began a retreat, ending in flight and their retirement across the Satluj. Four years later, in 1813, the first Nepālese War

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[1] *Tārikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar. Cf. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 129.

[2] *Tārikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar. Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140. The treaty is said to have been signed in blood.

[3] Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. I, pp. 301-2.

ensued, on their invading British territory, and after two years of war the Gurkhas were driven back to their original frontier on the Gogra.

[1] After defeating the Gurkhas the Mahārāja advanced to the town of Kāngra, and with the consent of Sansār Chand sent Fateh Singh Alhuwālia, along with Anirūdh Chand, into the fort, to require its surrender. Naurang Wazīr, however, who was in command, declined to make the surrender to any one but his master, from whom he had received charge. The Mahārāja then said to Sansār Chand, "If you value the safety of Anirūdh Chand you must go in person to the fort and order its surrender, otherwise Anirūdh Chand will pay the penalty." Sansār Chand and the Mahārāja then mounted an elephant and proceeded to the gate of the fort, where they were met by a message from Naurang that Sansār Chand should enter alone.

This he did accompanied by Fateh Singh Alhuwālia, and Naurang then asked a written order from his master, absolving him of all responsibility and requiring him to surrender the fort. Having done this, the Rāja took Naurang by the hand and led him out of the fort, and the Mahārāja with a few of his followers entered and took possession. To Sansār Chand he gave a writing guaranteeing to him the possession of the State except the portion attached to the fort in Mug͟hal times, consisting of 66 villages in the Kāngra valley; and a Sikh garrison was then placed in the fort.

Desa Singh Majithia was appointed Nāzim or Governor of the Fort and the administration of the Kangra hills, and he is said to have treated Sansār Chand with all honour and respect.

With the cession of Kāngra Fort to Ranjīt Singh, the Kāngra State as well as all the other States of the Jālandhar group became subject and tributary to the Sikhs. From that time Sansār Chand retired to Tara Sujanpur. Once a year he had to go to Lahore to pay his respects to the Mahārāja, doubtless a galling duty to him, but he was always treated with every honour, though apprehensive that sooner or later he would be detained a prisoner.

It is related of him that on one occasion when on a visit to the Sikh Court and seated at the side of the Mahāraja, he happened to yawn, whereupon Ranjīt Singh said jokingly, "*Lahore parāpat*," evidently referring to the saying which had been customary at Sansār Chand's Court in better days. The Rāja was, however, equal to the occasion and remarked, "*Jo hua so parāpat*," meaning, "whatever happens is a gain."

As years passed Ranjīt Singh seems to have become less considerate of his once powerful rival, and we learn from Mr. Moorcroft that Sansār Chand was subjected to many indignities. We are fortunate in having an interesting narrative of Mr. Moorcroft's visit to Sansār Chand's Court in 1820. He had crossed the Satluj with his caravan at Bilāspur, on his way to Ladākh, and on reaching Mandī was told that he could not proceed further without the special permission of Ranjīt Singh. He, therefore, left everything at Mandī in charge of Mr. Trebeck, his travelling companion, and proceeded to Lahore. Having obtained the necessary authority he returned *via* Nadaun

[1] *Tārikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar.

and Tarā Sujānpur, and after paying a long visit to Sansār Chand's Court, rejoined his camp in Kulū.

Mr. Moorcroft has left a graphic account of his experiences at Sansār Chand's capital, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and generosity. The narrative conveys a very favourable impression of the Katōch Chief. He was then only fifty-four years old, but years and misfortune had mellowed his character and left their mark upon him. From loss of territory and other exactions on the part of the Sikhs, his revenues, originally thirty-five lakhs, had become much impaired, and he complained of being unable to maintain his royal state as was his wont in former days. He had also much to say about his treatment at the hands of Ranjit Singh, which is hardly in keeping with the statements of Indian writers of the time.

During his visit Mr. Moorcroft had an interesting experience, of which he gives an impressive account. Sansār Chand's younger brother, Fateh Chand, was taken seriously ill with apoplexy, and all hope was despaired of. Every one was in distress and preparations had begun for the funeral, even the *rānīs* being ready to become *sati*, when Mr. Moorcroft by his medical skill was able to avert a great calamity and bring back the patient almost from the jaws of death. Great was the gratitude shown, and nothing seemed to be too much to do in token of their joy and satisfaction at the remarkable recovery.

[1] As the whole narrative is so interesting we give it in full:—"In the evening I waited upon the Rāja at his desire and found him with his son and grandson in an open building in a garden. Rāja Sansār Chand is a tall well-formed man about sixty. His complexion is dark but his features are fine and expressive. His son, Rāī Anirudha Sinh, has a very handsome face and ruddy complexion, but is remarkably corpulent. He has two sons, one of twelve and the other of five years of age, both less fair than himself. Sansār Chand was formerly the most powerful Rāja from the Satluj to the Indus. All the potentates from the former river to Kāshmīr were his tributaries or dependants, and he was extremely wealthy, possessing a revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees. He is now poor, and in danger of being wholly subjected to Ranjīt Singh. His misfortunes are mainly owing to himself, and his decline presents a remarkable contrast to the rise of his neighbour and now paramount lord, Ranjīt Singh............ Ranjit sends for Sansār Chand to his court once a year, and the latter expects on one of these occasions to be detained a prisoner, but the Sikh's purposes do not seem yet to be matured, and satisfied that his prey is within his grasp, he forbears awhile to pounce upon it."

"The loss of territory and falling off of his dependencies have so much reduced the revenues of Katōch, that, as the Rāja assured me, he has but 70,000 rupees a year for the expenses of himself and his family after paying his troops. His resources are, however, still respectable, his country is strong, his peasantry resolute and warmly attached to him, and he has a large property in jewels which might be turned to

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 126 *et seq.* In Lahore Museum there are interesting portraits of Moorcroft—done during his visit to Sujanpur—also of Sansār Chand and Fateh Chand.

better account. His pride, however, prevents him from making the sacrifices necessary to the improvement of his means, and whilst he spends large sums upon a numerous zenana, and a parcel of hungry retainers, he allows the defences of his country to fall into ruin, and keeps his soldiers short of powder and ball. He is very anxious to be taken under the protection of the British Government, and in the event of a rupture with the Sikhs it would find in him a zealous and useful partizan."

"Whilst I awaited at Shujānpur a reply to my letter (from Ranjīt Singh) the Rāja and his son and brother treated me with the greatest attention, inviting me to spend part of every day with them, and sending me presents of sweetmeats and fruits, when an occurrence took place which confirmed their regard, and established between us a close and curious connexion." Mr. Moorcroft then enters into a detailed account of the illness of Fateh Chand, the Rāja's brother, and of the means used to promote his restoration to health, which is too long for quotation. The closing paragraph is as follows:—"Nothing could exceed the expression and I believe the sentiment of gratitude on the part of the Rāja and his son. Besides a valuable dress of honour, the former conferred on me a grant of land, desiring me to appoint some one to manage it on my behalf. The whole country seemed to rejoice in Fateh Chand's recovery, for his courage and frankness made him a general favourite. He himself, when sufficiently restored, insisted on exchanging his turban for my hat, and making me his brother by adoption. He placed his turban on my head and my hat on his, each waved his hand, holding a handful of rupees, round the other's head and the rupees were distributed amongst the servants. He also gave me some green *dub* grass, which I was desired to wear, and thus, notwithstanding the difference of caste and complexion, I became an honorary member of the family of Sansār Chand. Whatever might be the value of such an association, it was a most unequivocal testimony of the sincerity of their gratitude."..

"Since the loss of Kāngra the Rāja has resided principally at Shujānpur, or rather Ālampur, on the right bank of the Biās, in gardens in which some small buildings accommodate himself and his court, and a larger one is erected for the zenana. His earlier residence and that of his predecessor, was at Tirā, where an extensive pile of buildings stands upon an eminence on the left bank of the river. The apartments are more spacious and commodious than is usual in Indian palaces, but they are now made no use of except for the Rāja's personal armoury, in which are some splendid swords and for a small manufactory of carpets for his own use."

"Sansār Chand quitted this residence, it is said, in consequence of its being distant from water, but another reason is assigned by popular rumour. On one of the Rāja's visits to Lahore, Ranjīt Singh remarked that he had heard much of the beauty of the palace at Tirā, and should like to see it. Sansār Chand replied that he should have felt honoured by the visit, but that he had quitted Tirā, and the place had fallen into so much decay, that it was unfit to receive the Sikh Chief, as he might satisfy himself by sending a person to inspect it. Ranjīt accordingly despatched an envoy for this purpose, but a messanger, sent off immediately by Sansār Chand, with orders to travel day and night, anticipated the Sikh envoy in sufficient time to give Tirā a

dismantled and desolate appearance. The report made by the Sikh deterred Ranjīt from his proposed visit, but the cirumstance excluded Sansār Chand from his patrimonial mansion."

"Rāja Sansār Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion, and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers. For several days prior to my departure he passed this period at a small bangala, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Rāja retires for two or three hours, after which he ordinarily plays at chess for some time, and the evening is devoted to singing and naching, in which the performers recite most commonly Brij-bhākha songs relating to Krishna. Sansār Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna, and subjects from the Mahabharat: it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rajas and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two portraits of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

In addition to many other tokens of gratitude a grant of land was also conferrred on Mr. Moorcroft, but as we know he never returned to benefit by Sansār Chand's kindness.

[1] Mr. Moorcroft gives a very clear idea of the extent of the territory in the reign of Sansār Chand. He says:—"The Raj of Katoch or Kangra, which is subject to Raja Sansar Chand, is about forty short *kos* in length from north to south, and varies in breadth from east to west from fifteen to forty *kos*. The greatest length is from Pathiehar Mahal, on the north-west, near the frontier of Chamba to Bilāspur, on the south-east; the greatest breadth is from Baidyanath Maharaj, or Iswar Linga, a shrine of Shiva, and place of religious resort on the north-east, adjacent to Kulu and Mandi, to Tulhati Mahal, to the south on the borders of Jaswal. It is surrounded by Mandi and Suket on the east; by Kahalur and the vale of Jaswa on the south; by part of Jaswa, Siba and Gula on the west and Kulu and Chamba on the north. It is separated from the Bist (or Byas and Setlej) Doab of Jalandhar by the states of Jaswa, Siba and Gula, and from the great snowy range of the Himalaya by those of Mandi, Sukhet, Chamba and Kulu. It is however close to the mountains and is of considerable elevation. In some parts of it there is ice on the ground in July."

"The Raj is divided into three provinces, or Katoch, Changa and Palam. The latter is the more western and northern, bordering on Chamba. Three considerable rivers flow from the neighbouring mountains, the Banganga, Kurali and Nayagul, which unite in Haripur and, under the name of Trigadh, fall into the Byas at Siba

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[1] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 139-140.

fort. The Byas itself waters the eastern portion of the Raj, flowing through Shujanpur Tira and Nadaun."

Moorcroft speaks of an Irishman named O'Brien in Sansār Chand's service, whom he met at Tarā. O'Brien had been in the army of the E.I. Company in the Royal Irish Regiment. Having come on guard without some of his accoutrements he was reprimanded and answered in an insolent manner. On being touched or struck with a cane he knocked the officer down with the butt end of his carbine and galloped off. Not daring to return to his regiment he ultimately found service with Sansār Chand, with whom he seems to have remained till his death. Gul O'Brien as he is called at Sujānpur Tarā is still remembered, and a grave in a little grove of trees just to the west of the town is shown as his. His portrait occurs in two pictures of Sansār Chand's Court. He established a manufactory of small arms and disciplined an infantry corps of 1400 men. He also devised a quaint uniform like that of the E.I. Company's sepoys—for the Rāja's troops—some of whom appear in one picture. In Lahore Museum there are interesting portraits of Moorcroft (done during his visit to Sujanpur), also of Sansār Chand and Fateh Chand. Among Sansār Chand's pictures in the possession of Raja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., of Lambagraon, there is a portrait of Ghulām Muhammad of Rampur.

Sansār Chand died in December 1823, after a reign of 47 years. He was in many respects a remarkable man, and has left a record in these hills second to none as a ruling chief. Like Jagat Singh of Nurpur, whom he closely resembled in character, Sansār Chand stands out among the royal personalities of the past, both as a soldier and an administrator, and his name is still a household word far beyond the boundaries of Kāngra. Under him the ancient kingdom of the Katōches reached the zenith of its power and glory, and had he been content with what he had acquired he might have passed on his extensive dominions unimpaired to his posterity. For twenty years he was lord paramount of the hills, and even a formidable rival to Ranjit Singh himself. But his aggressive nature led him on in his bold designs and he fell at last a victim to his own overweening ambition. With him the glory of the Katōches passed away, and what remained to his son was little more than a name.

Anirūdh Chand, A.D. 1823.—On Sansār Chand's death, his son Anirudh Chand was installed as Rāja, and we are told some of the Sikh Sirdārs of high rank came to offer their condolence and congratulations, bearing certain presents from the Sikh Court. These consisted of a horse and bow, shawls and a gold *yarah,* with a pearl necklace (*Kantha*) and a *wajah* or turban. After six months, Anirūdh Chand was summoned to the Sikh Court, then at Adīnanagar, which was a favourite resort of the Mahārāja. He presented a *nazarāna*, or fee of investiture, of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees, and received a suitable *khilat* in return. This visit was repeated in the following year, but on the third occasion Anirūdh Chand was met by a very unacceptable demand.[1] Sansār Chand had left two daughters by his rānī and three by a Gaddin concubine (khawās), and Rāja Dhiān Singh of Jammu, the Prime

[1] Cf. *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, pp. 440-1; also Honigberger, *Thrity-five Years in the East,* pp. 47 and 100, and Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 86-7-8.

Minister, asked through the Maharaja, one of the rāni's daughters in marriage for his son, Hīra Singh. For prudential reasons Anirūdh Chand expressed his willingness and gave a written engagement, but in reality he regarded the proposed alliance as an insult to the family honour. By immemorial custom among the Rajput royal families of the hills, a Rāja's daughter may not marry any one of lower rank than her father, that is a Ruling Chief or an heir-apparent. Anirūdh Chand was a Rāja in his own right and the descendant of a long line of kings, while Dhiān Singh was a Rāja only by favour of his master. Dhiān Singh too was of royal descent, and, next to the Mahārāja, the most powerful man in the Sikh Kingdom, but all this counted as nothing in the eyes of the proud Katōch when weighed against the family honour.

Time passed and Dhiān Singh through the Maharaja sent messages to hasten the marriage alliance. Anirūdh Chand used the pretext that his mother had recently died and he would give his sister a year later.

But he secretly sent away his property across the Satluj preparatory to flight. When the year was past, the Maharaja, at the instigation of his Minister, started for Nadaun to hasten on the marriage, if necessary by force. On hearing of this the Rāja sent his family across the Satluj, and when the Mahārāja reached Adīnanagar he himself fled into British territory.

[1] The Mahārāja came to Nadaun and received two of the three illegitimate daughters of Sansār Chand in marriage, from their brother, Jodhbīr Chand, and gave the third to Wasāwa Singh Sindhānwālia. Nadaun and the neighbouring district he granted in *jāgīr* to Jodhbīr Chand, with the title of Raja, and it is still held by his descendants.

Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansār Chand, did not leave the country with his nephew, and on waiting on the Mahārāja offered his own grand-daughter in marriage to Rāja Hīra Singh. In reward he received the district of Rājgir in *jāgīr*, and was made a Rāja. He is also said to have received the rest of the State on lease on favourable terms, but he died on his way home. Ludar Chand his son succeeded to the *jāgīr* and lease; but failed to pay the amount agreed upon and was ejected from the leased lands, which were made over to zemindars, under the control of a Sikh officer. The first of these was Lehna Singh Sindhanwāla, for one year, followed by Kunwar Sher Singh for two years, both of whom resided at Tarā Sujānpur. Sher Singh (afterwards Mahārāja) was very kind to Ludar Chand and conferred on him a village and an orchard in his own *jāgīr* at Batāla. Afterwards Pālam became the *jāgīr* of Prince Nau Nihāl Singh, and the rest of the State was placed under Lehna Singh Majīthia, who became Nāzim or Governor of the hills on his father's death.[2]

Soon after arriving in British territory Anirūdh Chand married his two sisters to the Rāja of Terhi Garhwāl, and died four years later, leaving two sons, Ranbīr Chand and Parmūdh Chand. In 1833, at the request of the British Government conveyed

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[1] Cf. *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, pp. 440-1; also Honiberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, pp. 47 and 100, and Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, pp. 86-7-8.

[2] *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, Fourth Daftar.

through Col. Wade at Ludhiana, Ranjīt Singh recalled them, and granted a *jāgīr* of Rs. 50,000 value in Mahal Morian, where they took up their residence. Ranbīr Chand died in 1847.

[1] In 1835 Mr. Vigne met the two brothers. He says:—At a place called Kruhin, situated in the midst of low and treeless hills, covered with rank herbage, I found the residence of the ex-Rajah of Tira and his brother, the grandsons of the once powerful Sinsar Chand. After his death his son, Murut Chand, went to Lahore, where Ranjit demanded his sister in marriage for his favourite and Minister, Dihan Singh. Murut Chand requested permission to go back and talk over the matter with his mother, who, it is said, was not averse to the match; but he himself being a Rajput of high caste, refused to give his sister to an upstart of no family, and sent her and his mother and family across the Sutlej for security, under the pretence that they were going on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hurdwar; and the Fakir Aziz-u-Dyn, who had been sent to Tira by Ranjit, arrived there only to find that the bird had flown. Upon hearing the story, Ranjit came himself to Jewala Muki, afterwards noticed, where Murut Chand, at an interview, was asked three times if he would give his sister to Dihan Singh. He replied that he would, and was allowed to depart. He proceeded to Tira, and immediately despatched all his valuables towards the Sutlej; upon which Ranjit sent a force to make him prisoner but he escaped, and by the next day was safe in the Company's territories, where he joined his family at Hurdwar and soon afterwards died there. His sons were invited back to the Punjab and were living upon a jaghir (a grant of land) at Kruhin, where I saw them.

The residence consisted of two or three low thatched houses, and they were in the receipt of 30,000 rupees (3000£) a year, which was collected from the surrounding country by permission of the Maharajah. The elder of the two brothers, and the rightful Rajah of Tira, was very civil, and gave a breakfast on the morning of my departure.

The young ex-Rajah showed me a friendly letter which his grandfather had received from Lord Lake by the hands of an envoy, whom he had despatched to wait on his lordship, after he had followed Holkar into the Punjab; and also a *chit* or writing by Mr. Moorcroft, given to and in favour of Rajah Sansār Chand, in which that open-hearted, intelligent, but unfortunate traveller, had spoken in the warmest terms of the kindness and attentions he had received from him.

On the termination of the First Sikh war the hill tracts between the Satluj and Bīās were, under the treaty of 9th March, 1846, ceded to the British Government, and Kāngra thus came directly under British control. But the transfer was not carried out without difficulty. Relying on its ancient prestige, the Sikh Commandant of the fort refused to yield up his trust and Kotila Fort also held out for a time. When all means of persuasion had failed, a British force with a battery of artillery was sent up from Ludhiana by way of the Gaj Nala to compel the surrender, and at the end of two months the Commandant of Kāngra agreed to evacuate the fort, on

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[1] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp.107-108-109.

condition of a free and honourable retirement for himself and the garrison. After the surrender of the fort a native infantry regiment was sent to garrison it, and this arrangement continued till some time before the earthquake of 4th April, 1905, when the stronghold was almost demolished. A detachment of eighty men was also posted at Kotila under a European Officer.

The dispossessed chiefs also did not yield a willing allegiance to their new rulers. The transfer of the hill tracts to Government was a consummation to which they had long been looking forward, in the eager hope and expectation that they would all be restored to their dominions. In this hope they were encouraged by the generous treatment accorded to the chiefs of the Simla hill states on the conclusion of the Nepalese War; when in accordance with the agreement made at the beginning of the war they were all reinstated in their possessions. Great then was their disappointment when the chiefs found that the Government meant to retain the country in their own hands. They all became disaffected in consequence, and when in 1848 they were approached by emissaries from the Sikh Sirdārs in rebellion, some of them lent a willing ear to illusive promises, that in the event of the British being defeated, they would be reinstated. First, the Wazīr of Nurpur, and then Parmūdh Chand, son of Anirūdh Chand, along with the Rājas of Jaswān and Datārpur, broke out into revolt. A force was sent against them under Mr. Lawrence the Commissioner, afterwards Lord Lawrence, which swept through the country and soon overcame all opposition. On his surrender, Parmūdh Chand, along with the Rājas of Jaswān and Datārpur, was sent to Almora, and detained as a political prisoner. There he died in exile and childless in 1851, and Sansār Chand's line thus came to an end.

Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansār Chand, had died soon after the annexation of the State, and Ludar Chand, his son, succeeded to the *jāgīr* granted by Ranjīt Singh, originally larger but reduced to Rs. 35,000 in 1833, on the return of Anirūdh Chand's sons from British territory. Ludar Chand was followed by Partāp Chand, who succeeded to the family title in 1851 on the demise of Rāja Parmūdh Chand without issue. He died in 1864, and since then his son, Rāja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has been the head of the Katōch clan. He resides at Lambagraon, near Sujānpur on the right bank of the Biās. At the time of his succession he was a minor, and the estate was managed by the Deputy Commissioner of Kāngra as the Court of Wards. The estate was then heavily encumbered, but on the Rāja's coming of age in 1883, it was handed over to him free of encumbrance. Rāja Sir Jai Chand was educated partly at the Mayo College, Ajmir, and partly by private tutors. He speaks and writes English. He holds the honorary rank of Lt.-Colonel in the 37th Dogras, and served in the Black Mountain and Chitrāl Relief expeditions. He is also an Honorary Magistrate invested with criminal and civil powers, and is Sub-Registrar of his *jāgīr*. Rāja Sir Jai Chand is the second Viceregal Darbāri in the Kāngra District.

During the present year (1918) Lt.-Col .Rāja Sir Jai Chand, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has received from the King-Emperor the distinction of Knight Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire, in recognition of his devoted loyalty and his

distinguished services to Government, especially in connection with the War. He had previously received the distiuction of C.S.I.

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Addenda to History of Nurpur State.

VOL. VI, NO. 2.

1. To be read as a separate paragraph after, "but does not give his authority," p. 104, line 28.

The reference in the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*[1] is as follows:—"After capturing this fort (Jud) Ibrahīm directed his attention towards another, called Damāl, which was situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindustan. On one side of this fort there was a large river, reported to be impassable, and on the other a large thorny jungle into which nothing but the rays of the sun could penetrate. The jungle was, moreover, infested with venomous serpents and flies, and abounded with elephants of enormous size. It was inhabited by a race of Hindus of gigantic form, and it was the most celebrated of all the places of Hindustan. At the foot of the hill there was no level ground suited for his operations. Ibrahīm, nevertheless, with his usual courage, made an attempt to take the fort, and through the aid of God soon captured it. He took possession of an immense quantity of property and jewels, the like of which had never been seen."

This reference is interesting as proving that a fort had existed at Dhameri (Nurpur) from ancient times, long before the one erected by Rāja Bāsu.

2. To be read as a separate paragraph after, "completely demolished," p. 108, line 9.

In the *Tārīkh-i-Daūdī* we find an interesting note regarding the building of Mau-kot, called Mankot in the translation. Salīm Shāh Sur, younger son of Sher Shāh (also called Islām Shāh), had in A.D. 1547 been engaged in a campaign against the Khokhars, a tribe inhabiting the country at the foot of the hills between the Satluj and the Jehlam. Having destroyed many of the tribe, many of the zamindars (petty chiefs) whose possessions were at the foot of the hills submitted themselves to him. The narrative is as follows:—"Skirting the hills, he (Salim Shāh) went thence towards Murīn, and all the Rājas of the Siwālik presented themselves and expressed their intentions of being obedient and faithful in their allegiance to him. Parsurām the Rāja of Gwālior (Guler) became a staunch servant of the king and was treated with a degree of consideration which far exceeded that shown to the other zamindars. Gwālior (Gwāliyār in the MS.) is a hill, which is on the right hand towards the south amongst the hills, as you go to Kāngra and Nagarkot. Islām Shāh erected some buildings there. The inhabitants of Gwālior are not particularly good-looking and Islām Shāh composed these lines in jest:—

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 162.

"How can I sing the praises of the beloved ones of Gwālior.
I could never do so properly if I tried in a thousand ways.
I do not know how to salute Parsurām when I behold him, I am distracted and exclaim, Rām, Rām."

Tāj Khān Kirāni, one of the king's attendants and companions wrote and presented this verse:—

"I style myself your slave.
What better employment can I find than your service!"

Islām Shāh stayed some time at Gwālior (Guler) and then set about building the fort of Mankot (Maukot). He went thither and caused five forts to be erected, one of which he named Shergaṛh; a second, Islāmgaṛh; a third, Rashīdgaṛh; a fourth, Firozgaṛh; the fifth retained its original name of Mankot (Maukot) and Mangarh (Maugaṛh). The performances of Islām Shāh at this period can only be compared with the works done by the genii, by Hazrat Sulaimān (on whom be peace). Those who have beheld these forts know better than any other how miraculously they have been constructed. But Islām Shāh at this time behaved harshly towards the people, and gave no money to the nobles and the army for three years. Certain nobles agreed together to act treacherously, and instructed a certain individual, who was careless of his life, thus: "The King will go forth to-day from the red tents for the purpose of inspecting the fort of Mankot, approach him where the path is narrow, under the pretext of demanding justice, and then kill him." This person went to the summit of a hill and posted himself in a place where only one man could pass at a time. When Islām Shāh reached that narrow passage he was preceded by some of his attendants and followed by others. The aforesaid assassin approached the King, demanding a hearing. As he did so and when he was close to him he drew a short sword which he had kept concealed, and struck at Islām Shāh, who was slightly wounded in the neck and fingers. Islām Shāh's extraordinary valour induced him to spring from his horse, and grapple with his assailant, whom he threw down and then wrested his weapon from him. Daulat Khān Ūjiāla beheld all that took place from the rear and came as swift as the wind to the assistance of His Majesty. He took the man out of the King's hands, saying, "If you will allow me, I will take charge of this person." Islām Shāh replied, "He will be the cause of the ruin of many. Put him quickly to death. He is sure to accuse many people falsely of having instigated him to act thus. There is no benefit to be derived from keeping him." Daulat Khān accordingly killed him on the spot.

There arose a great disturbance amongst the troops on account of the wound which the King had received, and the people said amongst themselves, "The King has been killed by a *paik*." Islām Shāh returned immediately to his camp, and remained seated for some time on the throne. He sent for the sword with which the man had wounded him and threw it down before the nobles. They all, as well as the King, perceived that the weapon was one which he had himself given to Ikbāl Khan. This Ikbāl Khān was called Karamulla and had served in the King's infantry. Islām Shāh patronized him and promoted him to the rank of a noble. The King summoned

him and thus addressed him, " I raised you to your present station because I believed you to be faithful and trustworthy and I made you extremely wealthy. I am ashamed to put you to death because you are a person whom I have raised and treated kindly. Thus I punish you,—I degrade you from your dignity and position as a noble and send you back to the salary which you formerly received as a foot soldier. Take your old place again." The King then repeated this verse:—

" I am so vexed with my friends, I will never take one even to save myself from ruin."

The reference in the *Tārīkh-i-Badauni* is as follows:—" The ranks of the Niāzis began to be thinned day by day and they soon dispersed. In the first instance they took refuge with the Ghakars, in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, and then settled themselves in the hills in the neighbourhood of Kashmīr. Salīm Shāh with the view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force, and took up a strong position in the hills to the north of the Punjab, where for the purpose of establishing posts, he built five fortressess, called Mankot (Maukot),[1] Rashīdkot, etc. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afghans, he forced them, for a period of two years, to bring stones and lime for the building of these fortresses, without paying them a single *fulus* or *jital*.

3. To be read as a separate paragraph after, " could be carried into effect," p. 109, line 22.

In A.D. 1572 during his reign, a Mug̲h̲al army was sent by Akbar for the capture of Kāngra Fort. Jai Chand, the Rāja at the time, had incurred the Emperor's suspicion in some way, and was arrested and imprisoned, probably in Dehli. His son Bidhi Chand, looking upon his father as dead, assumed power and stirred up a rebellion. The Mug̲h̲al army was under the command of K̲h̲ān Jahān Husain Qulī K̲h̲ān and advanced by way of Paithān (Pathānkot) and Dhameri (Nurpur). On arriving at the latter place the governor, called Janu (variants, Choto and Khabu), who is said to have been a relative of Jai Chand, withdrew into the fort from fear, but sent his envoys with an offering, and promised to keep the roads open. The offering was accepted and the Mug̲h̲al force marched on, leaving an armed post at a village in the way near Nurpur to keep open communications. The narrative in the *Ma'asir-ul-Umarā*[2] is as follows:—" He (K̲h̲ān Jahān) in the 17th year (of Akbar) (A.D. 1572) set himself in motion according to orders for the conquest of the fortress of Nagarkot. It had been in the possession of Rāja Jai Chand. After his imprisonment, his son, Bidhi Chand, assumed that he had succeeded to his father's position, looking on him as if he were dead, and raised a disturbance. When he (K̲h̲ān Jahān) arrived near Dhamthari (Nurpur), its governor, one Janu (variant, Khabu), a relative of Jai Chand, was afraid and withdrew out of the way, but envoys he had sent bound themselves for *rāhdāri* (to keep the roads open). The K̲h̲ān left a number of his men to form

[1] *Tārīk̲h̲-i-Daūdi*, Elliot's History, Vol. IV, pp. 493-4-5-6.

Note.—The fort of Maukot was erected without paying the workmen, that is, by *begār* or forced labour. Cf. *Tārīk̲h̲-i-Badauni* and *Wāqiāt-i-Mushtaqi*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 489.

[2] *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. I, p. 647.

an armed post (*thāna*) at a village lying close to the route, and then himself continued his march. He arrived at fort Kotila, which by its height makes a claim of equality with heaven. From a hill opposite that fort he discharged his guns several times, and so frightened the garrison that during the night they came out and fled. This fort in former times had belonged to Rāja Rām Chand, ruler of Gwāliyār (Guler); and it had been forcibly taken from him by Rām Chand the grandfather of Jai Chand. For this reason Khān Jahān made it over to the Rāja of Gwālyār, who was a descendant of Rām Chand, and posted there a guard of armed men. In advance (of Kotila) the trees were intertwined to an extraordinary degree, rendering the passage of an army exceedingly difficult. Khān Jahān sent out a multitude to cut down the jungle, and advanced each day the distance that had been cleared."

The district of Kotila with its strong fort had evidently become what it was for centuries, a bone of contention between Kāngra, Guler, and Nurpur. Originally it must have been Kāngra territory and was probably taken over or seized by Guler after that State was founded. It passed into the possession of Nurpur some time later, for in A.D. 1617—18 it was held by a Nurpur garrison against the Mughals, during the rebellion of Rāja Suraj Mal. After this it probably became a part of the imperial demesne, and the fort was garrisoned by imperial troops.

From the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* [1] we learn that a son of Rāja Takht Mal, named Bhuj Dev, was killed at the siege of Kāngra Fort in A.D. 1572, and also that a fort existed in the reign of Takht Mal, which he had strengthened and into which the governor retired on the approach of the Mughal army. The fort most probably occupied the same site as the one erected by Rāja Bāsu, at a slightly later date when the capital was transferred from Pathānkot to Nurpur, about A.D. 1585. The variants of the name of the governor suggest that the real word is *Takhtu*, and that Rāja Takht Mal himself was in command of the fort. Remembering his brother's fate he had good reason for fear and anxiety.

4. To be read after, "and he took to flight," p. 134, line 16.

The note in Khāfī Khān is as follows [2]:— "For three days most vigorous attacks were made, but Dāra's position was very strong and his men fought bravely so that the assailants made no impression. Dāra's forces indeed sallied out and after causing considerable destruction of men and beasts returned to their positions. The artillery practices of the assailants damaged only the defence works. On the fourth night Aurangzeb called around him some of his most trusty servants and incited them by strong exhortations and promises to undertake an assault.

Next day Aurangzeb sent Rāja Rājrup, zamindār of Jammu (Nurpur), with his infantry, against the rear of a hill where an assault was not expected and where the concentration of forces was thought to render it impossible. But he forced his way and planted his banner on the summit of the hill.............................
The success at the beginning of the battle was due to Rāja Rājrup, but at last the

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[1] *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, Elliot's History, Vol. V, p. 358.

[2] *Munatkhbāb-ul-Lubāb*, Elliot's History, Vol. VII, p. 240.

victory was owing to the devotion of Shaikh Mīr and the intrepidity of Diler Khān Afghān, who attacked the lines held by Shāh Nawāz Khān. Pride and shame so worked upon Shāh Nawāz that he gave up all hope of surviving and died fighting most courageously.

Daniel Moginié, a forgotten Swiss adventurer in Hindustan.

(1738-1749.)

Translated from the German by the REVS. J. W. DÜHR, S.J., and H. HOSTEN, S.J.

Johann Bernouilli mentions, in a list of works on Nādir Shāh,[1] one by a Swiss adventurer, whose name and fame India seems to have entirely forgotten. He is said to have died at Agra on May 22nd, 1749, aged 39 years, and to have been Governor of the Panjab.

All I can say is that I have not found his name on any of the tombstones in the Catholic graveyards of Agra, although I copied all the inscriptions up to the end of December 1912. Of Moginié himself and his adventures I know nothing beyond what we learn from Bernouilli. His history is, however, too romantic to leave it in the limbo of oblivion. Perhaps one of our readers will feel stimulated to try and get hold of the original account, and push the study of it, and its claims to recognition or its spuriousness, further than Bernouilli.

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

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[P. 11]. *L'illustre Paysan, ou Mémoires et avantures de Daniel Moginié, natif du village de Chézales au Canton de Berne, baillage de Moudon, mort à Agra, le* 22 *de Mai* 1749, *agé de* 39 *ans ; Omrah de la premiere classe, Commandant de la seconde Garde Mogole, Grand Portier du Palais de l'Empereur et Gouverneur du Palngeab. Où se trouvent plusieurs particularités anecdotes des dernières Révolutions de la Perse et de l' Indostan et du Regne de Thamas-Koulikan. Ecrit et adressé par lui-même à son Frere Francois, son Légataire.* A Lausanne, 1754. 8vo.[2]

I have not seen this book for a very long time in the original French edition, but I have it lying before me in German, in which language it has appeared under several titles. First, at Berlin in 1755, the title: *Der erlauchte Bauer oder Lebensgeschichte und Begebenheiten Daniel Moginies*, etc., being the literal and complete translation of the long French title. Subsequently, a new title-page was put to this Berlin edition, with the following title: *Die bewundernswürdige Gunst des Glücks oder*

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[1] Cf. *Des Pater Joseph Tieffenthaler's, b. G. J. und apost. Missionarius in Indien, historisch-geographische Beschreibung von Hindustan.* Zweyten Bandes, zweyter Theil, (Berlin) Gotha, E. W. Ettinger, 1788, pp. 11-17. [The notes not within [ ] are by Bernouilli. We leave the spelling of some of the proper names in their original form.]

[2] [The illustrious Peasant, or Memoirs and adventures of Daniel Moginié, a native of the village of Chézales in the Canton of Bern, Bailiwick of Moudon, who died at Agra on May 22, 1749, aged 39 years, Omrah of the first class, Commandant of the second Mogol Guard, Great Gate-Keeper of the Emperor's Palace, and Governor of the Palngeab [Panjab], wherein are found several Particulars (and) anecdotes about the latest Revolutions of Persia and Indostan and of the reign of Thamas-Koulikan. Written and addressed by himself to his brother François, his legatee. At Lausanne, 1754.]

wahrhaftige und zuverlässige Lebensbeschreibung eines Menschen welcher von dem niedrigsten Stande bis fast zum höchsten Gipsel der Ehren gestiegen ist, und der seine Tage erst gegen die Mitte des jetzigen Jahrhunderts beschlossen hat. Nebst verschiedenen geheimen Umständen einiger sehr beträchtlichen Staaten. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1760.[1] The new title-page contains this quaint and quite new title, together with the 12 last pages of the text, and the identical list of atrocious errata found in the Berlin edition. Another German edition, which I have not seen, and which, if I understand Herr Meusel aright,[2] is a different translation from that of the Berlin edition, has for title: *Daniel von Moginie selbst eigene Beschreibung seiner Reise und seltsame Begebenheiten in Persien und Indostan; herausgegeben von* (Reichard) *Tomlinson.* Bern 1763, 2 parts, 8vo.[3]

[**P.** 12]. We might have assigned before this a place to Moginié, because he deals but briefly with Nādir's expedition to Dehli, whereas he relates at length the events preceding it. One knows hardly what to think about this quite marvellous book, which has much the appearance of a novel. At the age of 18, Moginié, the son of a substantial peasant, had a dream, after which he found, in a hollow wall of his father's house, a roll of parchment on which were written wonderful characters which he could not read. He sought the advice of Crousaz and Rüchat of Lausanne, was directed to a Leiden Professor (probably Schultens), and, to manage to go there, entered the service of a Dutch family at Bern. The Leiden Professor directed him in turn to the former commandant of Malacca, Herr Kalb of Amsterdam, from whom he finally learnt that his manuscript was written in the Malay, or the original Indian tongue, and contained the genealogy of a family, which descended from Amorgines, King of the Sacæ (*dem Könige der Sacer*), but was dispersed in the 11th century, when the barbarians invaded Persia. The third son of Sapor Amorgines, the then head of the family, went to Constantinople, next to Rome, where he was baptized and married. With what remained of his jewels he bought a piece of land in the Wadt or Pays de Vaud (then part of Savoy), where, in the year 1069 A.D. he wrote in his own hand at Avencum (or Aventicum, now Avanches) the manuscript in question. Herr Kalb, recognising in Moginié a descendant of this Prince, and therefore one of the oldest noblemen in the world, showed him a father's affection, and took him to Batavia, but died on the journey. After several romantic adventures, Moginié reached Malacca, where the Governor of the town, an old French refugee, called d'Imberbault, gave him some instruction in the military art, to enable him to enter the service of Thamas, the Persian Prince.

Moginié, whose ambition it was to rescue his family from the obscurity into

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[1] [The remarkable Favour of Fortune, or veracious and credible Biography of a Man who rose from the lowest Condition to well-nigh the highest Pinnacle of Honour, and who ended his Days only about the Middle of the present Century. Together with several unknown circumstances of some very important States. . . .]

[2] "Alia Versio Theotisca prodiit sic inscripta," etc. Vid. *Bibl. Histor.* Tom. II. P. 2, pag. 4. Herr Meusel has inserted this book among the authors on India, because it was not yet known to him, when he wrote that part which deals with the writers on Persia.

[3] [Daniel von Moginié's own Description of his Travels and strange Adventures in Persia and Indostan; published by (Reichard) Tomlinson. . . .]

which it had fallen, followed this plan. On December 24th, 1729, he arrived at Bender Abbasi, and, after weighing the pros and cons, he judged it more to his purpose to offer his services to the Afghan King Azraf, then at Shiras, than to Thamas, who was at a distance. He was well received by Zeberdest, Azraf's General, before whom he gave himself out as a French nobleman experienced in gunnery and the military profession; and, as Shiras was besieged shortly after by Thamas Kuli Khan, he was of great assistance in the defence of that town. The town was taken, however, after Azraf, who had abandoned it, was utterly defeated. Moginié now collected a force of 200 men, and taking command of it offered his services to Thamas Kuli Khan. From this time onward (February 1730), Moginié [**P. 13**] was for some years almost continually near the Persian General; he accompanied him in his expeditions, rendered him (as he says) important services, and rose higher and higher in his favour. His narrative of the events of this period is very circumstantial, and has every appearance of trustworthiness; nor do I see why a novelist should have taken the trouble to invent so many incidents therein related, which are of no interest to the mere dilettante reader.

Soon after ascending the throne in May 1736, the new S̲h̲āh (Nādir) sent Abdul-Bachi-Khan to Constantinople to confirm the peace. Moginié had to accompany him; and, though his character was not defined, his mission consisted chiefly in attracting to the S̲h̲āh's service all the Europeans residing at Constantinople who might be able to perfect in Persia the sciences generally, and especially the military art. Abdul-Bachi-Khan is the very ambassador with whom Otter travelled from Constantinople to Ispahan. Moginié, who remained behind in Constantinople, learnt, however, already in December 1736 that Abdul had accused him before the S̲h̲āh, as also before the Great Vizier and other Ministers of the Sublime Porte, as if he had hindered the conclusion of the peace. He was now ordered by the S̲h̲āh to remain as his agent near the Sublime Porte at Constantinople, and, under threat of disfavour, to settle within two months the business pending. As he had no hope of effecting this, he considered himself as lost. To save his remaining fortunes, he left Stamboul for Persia on the 4th of March 1737, and arrived in disguise at Ispahan, where his friends, out of fear and interested motives, betrayed him. The only one who took an interest in him was Heer Norpeen, the Director of the Dutch Factory, who advised him to try his luck in India, and offered him his help in the matter; for the circumstances were too bad for him to appear before the S̲h̲āh and seek to exculpate himself. He betook himself first to Candahar, where he was known to the Prince,[1] in order to settle there, and he helped to defend this town, which Nādir S̲h̲āh, not long afterwards, besieged for more than a year. During the siege, the issue of which could be foreseen, Moginié, who especially had to fear the S̲h̲āh's vengeance, fled to Dehli (which, like Otter, he calls Dilly), disguised as a Banian, and accompanied by an Afghan notable, who succumbed to the hardships of the way.

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[1] During the first mission which he received from Thamas Kulikhan, viz., to examine secretly the condition of the Kandahar fortress, he gained the affection of the Prince, and continued in it, although he had to prove unfaithful to him in secret.

Here he soon rose to power, especially as he could still show [P. 14] the patent he had received from Nādir Shāh, and he already commanded a corps, and was consulted, when Nādir Shāh marched on Dehli. He advanced with the Mogol Army and assisted at the first events. He relates also, but differently from others, the well-known treacheries which then occurred; but, as Mohammed Shāh was retained a prisoner by Nādir after the meeting of the two Monarchs, the situation grew again too hot for him; and, to avoid falling into the Shāh's hands, he profited by the general disorder, and fled with about 60 officers. He reached Dehli before anything had transpired there about the Emperor's being kept a prisoner, and helped himself to horses from the Emperor's stable, four elephants, and the most precious objects in the palace of Nessur-Ali, lately deceased, which (palace) the Emperor had gifted to him. His followers had now increased to 1,500 officers and other persons of rank; he marched with them southwards, and conceived the idea of taking possession of the kingdom of Golkonda. At the end of three months, he was already at the head of 4,000 infantry and more than 1,800 horse, and had a camp with artillery and baggage. However, in July (1739), he learned, through the couriers sent from Dehli to the Provinces, what had since happened between the Emperor and the Shāh: the latter's retreat, and that he had bound himself to help the Emperor in bringing his nobility to obedience, or maintaining them in it. Hereupon, Moginié himself returned, was received by the Emperor as a faithful servant, was appointed to the dignity of a commandant of the second guard (*der andern Garde*), and honoured with other favours. These kindnesses animating him with new zeal, he undertook to organise the whole corps after what he considered the best methods of military discipline. In September 1740, he made them manœuvre before the Emperor, who was so highly pleased that he made him an Omrah of the first rank, and presented him besides with 400,000 rupees, to enable him to live up to his rank. Shortly afterwards, after a repetition of these manœuvres, he obtained the patent of a Lieutenant-General of the armies of Hindustan, and the Governors in the Provinces were ordered to discipline their troops according to his method.

This mission, however, does not appear to have been successful. Moginié was sent to Bengal, "in order to receive from the Regents of Daca the accounts which they had to submit to their Over-Raja from the time of his minority."[1] The [P. 15] mother of the young Raja was a sister of the Emperor's, and he was to bring both to

[1] Before this, much [of Moginié's story] was simply improbable; but here the narrative limps quite violently and is surely false. How could Moginié give to the Mahommedan Governor of Bengal the title of Raja, which belongs only to Hindus? The supposed Over-Raja must have been Saffraskhan, to whom the rebellious Sadshi and Aliverdi, after they had done away with the Subah Sudsha Khan in 1738, disputed likewise the governorship, and whom they slew in battle at the end of 1741. Saffraskhan, besides, was older then than to be a prince who had just emerged from his minority, since he was alive already before 1720 (Cf. *Holwell*, pp. 36–37). And, as for his mother, it is rather uncertain whether she was the Emperor's sister. On one point only does one remark a distant similarity with real history, viz., that at the time when Moginié would have been sent to Bengal, the Emperor, who was reduced to straits by the Mahrattas owing to the Tshout, offered to them to go to Bengal, to levy there the revenue which had fallen into arrears owing to the supposed anarchy, to which they agreed. [The word 'Tschout' may be identified with *Chauth* (Mahr.), 'one fourth part'; the black-mail levied by the Mahrattas from the provincial governors as compensation for leaving their districts in immunity from plunder. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*—s. v., Chowt, and compare with Manucci by W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, IV, 431, note on Chiutia.]

Agra, where the Raja intended doing homage to his sovereign and uncle, whereas his mother would remain in the Mahal. However, he made the Princess change her mind, and his old genealogical record moved the Emperor to give him his sister in marriage and appoint him Governor of the Panjab (*Panshab*) and Lahor. He is supposed to have lived in this glorious position from February 1742. Three years after his marriage, his wife would have died, and his only wish during [the last] four years was to have his brother near him, especially as the bad state of his health told him to prepare for death.[1]

I have allowed myself to be detained by this "illustrious peasant" at greater length than I had intended, and than he seems to deserve. For my justification I can add only that even the famous historian Herr Meusel has a higher opinion of the value of this book than probably most of my readers, or those who have read the whole of it. I want to quote his opinion at foot,[2] and add here freely my own. The authenticity of the old parchment-roll may be left undecided; it is not impossible, provided the contents, as given in the book itself, agree somehow with the Persian Annals to be found in trustworthy authors; perhaps, one might learn still in the *Pays de Vaud* whether the alleged discovery of this document is not a mere gloss added to the book by the editor.

[**P. 16**]. Still less importance is to be attached to the traveller's amorous adventures and others, which drove him to Malacca. He reached Shiras, and, as he has often occasion to speak of the Afghans (*Avganen*), he gives his brother an idea of this people and of the revolutions they had brought about in Persia. "I shall tell you about this," he wrote to his brother, "what I have learned from the chief and best informed persons among them. As their downfall and ruin took place under my own eyes, I shall be able to speak to you about it as an eye-witness." In another place (p. 63) one sees that he must have learned much from the French cannon-founder Chomel, who had come to Ispahan already in 1716 or 1717, and who from 1724 had enjoyed an influential position among the Afghans. However, this portion may also be merely an addition compiled by the editor from the several earlier histories I have indicated above. My opinion about Moginié's doings in Persia is more definite. I have said already why I consider them trustworthy. In that case they constitute the best and most useful portion of the book. I add still that the fortunes of our adventurer in Persia are not quite so extraordinary as to exceed all likelihood. Nādir was fond of Europeans,[3] and Moginié had talents which, for the country, were not common. Only one point offers a difficulty: Moginié asserts that the daughter of

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[1] This brother had gone with him to Holland, and had entered the service of an Englishman.

[2] Liber historici magis, quam geographici argumenti, utpote qui, præter auctoris fata mirabilia, multa de rebus titulo memoratis tradit alibi haud obvia, certe minus explicita. Nos supra Vol. I, P. II, p. 63, sqq. ubi de rebus Persicis ævi recentioris sermo, hujus quoque *scriptoris probe instructi* meminissemus, si tum ejus librum cognovissimus In usum eorum qui de rebus Persiæ historias condidere, venisse haud videtur. [=The subject of the book is historical rather than geographical; for, in addition to the author's wonderful adventures, it contains many things on the matters mentioned in the title which are not found elsewhere, or at any rate are less clear. In Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 63, sqq., where we speak of Persian affairs of more recent times, we should have mentioned also this well-informed writer, if we had then known his book. It does not appear to have been known by the historians who have written about Persia.]

[3] See in particular pp. 158–159, and *Lettres édifiantes*, Rec [ueil] xxv, p. 405.

Samedkhan, a distinguished General in Nādir's service, was given him in marriage by her own father, whose favourite he was. This seems to show that he changed his religion. He wishes, however, to forestall the suspicion (p. 162); but I doubt whether the two could have gone together, and I suspect that a remnant of Swiss piety and shame made him suppress the circumstance. Probably, too, he bore another name in Persia and Hindustan, which he nowhere mentions.

To come finally to the events which would have occurred after his flight from Persia: some of these may be true, and one can learn even some incidents about Nādir's expedition; but, very shallow and partly false are on the whole the informations inserted about Hindustan; I take them as an addition of the ignorant editor, nor do I consider less apocryphal Moginié's relationship with Mohammad-Shah, the Emperor of Hindustan; for, in that case, new doubts arise, on the score of religion among other things. Moreover, one may wonder that not the slightest information about the Mogol Court is to be found for the period 1742–1749, not even about the death of his imperial brother-in-law, which occurred in 1747. [P. 17] This is easy to understand, however, when one considers that the editor had not at hand any printed books from which to fill in the gap.[1]

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30, *Park Street, Calcutta.*
1917.

[[1] The following facts may possibly throw some light on Moginié's stay at Dacca. According to Stewart's *History of Bengal* (pp. 426-429), Sujā-uddin, the Nawāb of Bengal, who governed Murshidābād from 1726 to 1739, appointed his son-in-law Murshīd Kulī Khān, as Deputy Nazim of Dacca. Murshīd Kulī Khān employed as his Diwān 'Meer Hubbeeb,' a native of Shiraz, who had been a broker at Hugli. In 1734, Murshīd Kulī Khān was appointed to the deputy-government of Orissa and he took 'Meer Hubbeeb' with him. The government of Dacca was then conferred by the Nawāb on Sarfarāz Khān, but he was ordered to send there as his deputy 'Ghalib Aly Khan,' who asserted his descent from the kings of Persia. Might Moginié not have been known, therefore, in India by the title of Ghalib Ali Khan?

An Augustinian Friar, Ambrosio de Santo Augustinho, relates how, while he was Rector of Nagori near Dacca, there arose a persecution against the Christians of his Mission under Murshīd Kulī Khān and his second 'Morobib' (Meer Hubbeeb). Morobib was, however, a friend of the Christians, and he did everything he could to defend them. "This man completed his term of office, and another one came. The case was placed before the tribunals, and all were condemned to death. The Nababo who had to ratify the sentence was a Persian; a good man, called Galbalican. He said he would not kill them. God, who had created them, would kill them; let them remain in prison for life. They remained in prison three years and some months. One died in prison; the other two were set free at the request of a Christian, the Nababo's surgeon, and they did not enquire any further about the others or about the Fathers; the whole thing was hushed up that way or put out of sight."

Having no books at my disposal here at Darjeeling (15-3-1920), I am unable to push my enquiries about Galbalican any further.]

The Cradle of Graeco-Buddhist Art.[1]

A. FOUCHER.

It may be taken as an historical fact that the Graeco-Buddhist school of art arose some time about the beginning of our era, and somewhere on the North-Western borders of India, from the impact of two inverse expansions: that of Hellenism towards the East, consequent upon the political conquests of Alexander, and that of Buddhism towards the West, due to the religious propaganda of Aśoka. All that remains to be done is to go beyond these safe but rather too wide approximations, and to determine with more precision the place as well as the date of birth of that school. Of course both enquiries, the geographical and the chronological one, are closely connected together: yet to-day we are especially concerned with the first, and our set task is to fix as accurately as possible the limits of the country which may boast of having been the cradle of the school, or, to make things easier, of its characteristic trade-mark, I mean the Indo-Greek type of Buddha. As you already know, the latter is the indisputable prototype of all the modern Buddhas we find still enthroned in the pagodas of the Far East. Now, if we consider that Graeco-Buddhist art thus spread as far as the shore and islands of the Pacific Ocean and played in Eastern Asia the same prominent part as Christian art in Europe, the question of its starting-place will seem to be quite worth an answer, and we shall feel we are not idling away our time if we look for it in an atlas.

As soon as we glance at the map, which is bound to contain the object of our search, viz. that of the mountainous region between India and Iran, we see that our quest will be singularly simplified by the physical character of the country. For it is a well-known law, easy to exemplify all over the world, that Art never was a mountain-flower. So we may take it as granted that the Graeco-Buddhist school can only have flourished in one of the two alluvial plains shown on the map. It sprang up either on the northern or on the southern side of the Hindu Kush, the ancient Paropanisus range, *i.e.* either in the valley of the Oxus or in that of the Kābul-Rūd. So the question of priority is to be decided between—if we give their ancient names to the two competing countries—Bactria and Gandhāra.[2] To be sure, the Peshawar district and the adjoining valleys have been for a century, especially since the annexation of the Panjab and the British expeditions to Kābul, the great find-place for "Buts," as they call every Buddhist sculpture on the Frontier; and lately the admirable excavations of Sir John Marshall have conclusively showed that Graeco-Buddhist art flourished

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[1] Summary of an illustrated lecture given at Barnes Court, Simla, on the 1st August, 1919.

[2] For the sake of brevity we include here, under the name of Gandhāra, the neighbouring valleys of Swat and Buner (anc. *Udyāna*) and of Kābul (anc. *Kapiśa* and *Nagarahara*).

as far East as Taxila. But what about Bactria, the fertile, rich, thickly populated country of Bactria, the "Pride of Ariana," with its thousand towns, and its old capital Bactra (now Balkh), the "Mother of Cities"? When we are seeking for the origin of an acknowledged semi-Hellenic school, how can we forget that Bactria was for a long time the largest Greek colony in the Middle East? Or would the fact that no archaeological exploration has yet been attempted in Afghan Turkestan be a sufficient reason for putting its claim aside off-hand? Evidently not: but then we must confess that we entirely miss one of the two essential elements of the problem; and its solution becomes a case of "guessing if you can, and choosing if you dare" as the French poet puts it.

We are thus confronted, at the very outset, with the most glaring and deplorable gap in our knowledge of the antiquities of Buddhist Asia. It can easily be shown how the Buddhist art of Java, Cambodia, Ceylon, is linked up in its origins, through the medium of Amarāvatī, Bodh-Gayā, Benares and Mathurā (Muttra), with the North-West frontier of India. Thanks to the splendid explorations of Sir Aurel Stein, Edouard Chavannes, and others, we can follow in the same way the spread of Indo-Greek influence along the sandy roads of Central Asia to China, Corea, and Japan. But then, between the Peshawar district and the Kābul valley on one side, and the Chinese Turkestan on the other, there is an almost perfect blank, the upper basin of the Oxus being still practically unexplored, as far as archaeological research is concerned. What makes matters still worse, Balkh lies just at the apex of the angle, at the branching off of the two great routes along which Buddhist religion and art travelled, leading either towards the South-East, to Java, or towards the North-East, to Japan: so the presence of that gap, as you may imagine, cannot but tell very heavily on the study of Asiatic art, old and new. To begin with, our present query about the birthplace of the Graeco-Buddhist school must ever remain open to discussion as long as the ruins of Balkh have not been properly examined and excavated. But if we cannot to-day reach certitude, that is not a reason to discard what we can get, *viz.* probabilities. While we wait and long for the scientific evidence, it may be of some use if I briefly give you some obvious, and, I trust, reasonable arguments in favour of Gandhāra as against Bactria.

II.

When we enquire about the historical circumstances which engendered the creation of the Indo-Greek type of Buddha, what particularly attracts Europeans is how Hellenic influence can thus have reached as far as the banks of the Oxus and of the Indus. When once they are satisfied that, after Alexander's conquest in 329-327 B.C., Bactria knew two full centuries of Greek rule, they are quite ready to use the expression "Graeco-Bactrian Art" to designate the sculptures found on both sides of the Indo-Afghan frontier. Now were that school Greek only, I mean had it produced none other but classical motives, this mental attitude—one-sided as it is—would be perfectly right. Suppose that in Gandhāra we found only Ionic or Corinthian capitals, winged lions or griffins, Atlantes or Tritons, *amorini* or bacchanals, and so on; in order to explain their origin we should not have to look any further than to

Hellenized Bactria. But, besides these decorative subjects, the finds of Gandhāra have brought to light in overwhelming numbers scenes and images which no recourse to Greece or Persia could ever explain alone: I mean the Buddhist ones. To account for them, it is necessary to prove the penetration not only of Greek art, but also of the Buddhist religion—founded a thousand miles away in the middle Ganges valley—into the country which was to be the place of their union. So it would not be sufficient to repeat over and over again the hackneyed story of Alexander's raid in the Panjab, and, later on, of the Indian conquests of Demetrios and Eukratides, of Menander and Apollodotos, in the second century B.C. It is not less essential to bear in mind how the famous Aśoka, in his zeal for the propagation of the Good Law, had Gandhāra and Kashmīr converted by the apostle Madhyāntika towards the middle of the third century B.C., and how the extreme North-West of India was soon, as the sacred texts say: "glistening with golden foundations and yellow monastic robes," so much so that Gandhāra became in fact, after Magadha, the second Holy Land of Buddhism. If now you remember that on the contrary Bactria was not an Indian country, but an Iranian one, specially famous as the alleged birth-place of Zarathustra, and the stronghold of Mazdeism, you will have to own that—even if we gratuitously suppose that Buddhism penetrated there directly after the conversion of North-Western India, say, in the second century B.C., at the soonest—it was not a fit place for the immediate thriving of it. Thus these simple considerations already create a *prima facie* advantage in favour of Gandhāra.

That is not all: let us not be satisfied with mere words. The meeting of two abstractions like Buddhism and Hellenism could never produce such a concrete creation as the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures. Take the case of the truest representative of the school, the Indo-Greek type of Buddha. Such an image could be brought forth only when ordered of a Greek sculptor by a native Buddhist. I should even be tempted to go one step further. The more I look at these old acquaintances of mine, the more they appear to me as a kind of hybrid compromise, where Greek and Indian features are so indissolubly blended together that I feel driven to the conclusion that the most likely creator of this Eurasian Buddha would be, too, a Eurasian sculptor, an artist by his Greek father, and a Buddhist by his Indian mother. Be it as it may, this mixed breed of images is clearly not a pure Indian work, but Greece too could never have produced it alone without the help of India. It really is a new creation, exactly as from the amalgamation of two alien chemical substances in a crucible, there springs forth a third and different one. There lies its own kind of originality; and by the way, you see how wrong those are, who, prompted by some aesthetic bias, or by a narrow nationalist spirit, used to despise and disparage these statues which are, after all, the greatest artistic success ever achieved in the East. But to revert to our main point, it must have taken at least two or three generations of close intercourse between Greek and Buddhist people for such a double-faced personage, such a strange mixture of an Indian monk and a Hellenic god, such an intimate combination of the Mahapurusha and Apollo to be finally evolved. Now we can nowhere find, in the history of Bactria, time for such a protracted intercourse between a strong Greek colony,

and a flourishing Buddhist community. During the third century B.C., Alexander's successors were simply ruling over Bactria, as over one of the provinces of the just-dismembered Persian empire, perhaps the most Iranian of all: practically, they had nothing whatever to do with either Buddhism or India. It is only *circa* 200 B.C., after the success of the Buddhist propaganda in North-Western India, and simultaneously with the conquests of the latter by Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, that we may assume some of the monks to have found their way to the northern side of the Paropanisus range. But then two-thirds of a century had scarcely elapsed before the Greeks, in their turn, were swept out of Bactria by the invading Scythians.

Thus we come to the most decisive argument against Bactria having ever been the cradle of the Græco-Buddhist school, that is to say, the chronological one. All historians agree that *circa* 135 B.C. under Heliocles, the Bactrian part of the Greek kingdom, was overrun by the Barbarians. Somehow the Greeks seem to have succeeded in keeping their Indian dominions for some fifty years more, till they were completely supplanted by Saka and Parthian invaders. Some of them even managed to maintain themselves in the Kābul valley, where Hermaeus was still ruling at the advent of the Kushāns, in the first part of the first century of our era. Now, it is most likely that, as far as we can see, the Græco-Buddhist school was not originated before the first century B.C., at about the time of the late Yavana and the first Saka-Pahlava kings. True it is we are no longer bound to postpone the birth of Buddha's image till the end of the first century A.D., for the seemingly peremptory reason that it does not make its appearance on coins till the time of Kanishka. Since the sensational discovery of the Peshawar relic-casket by Dr. D. B. Spooner, we can see clearly that at the time of Kanishka the type of Buddha already was a much stylized one. Yet, on the other hand, we cannot well refer its creation—much as we should be inclined to do so—to the time of the greatest Indo-Greek dynasts, not even of those who, like the famous Menander, have the Greek legend on the obverse of their coins translated on the reverse into Indian language and writing for the benefit of their Indian subjects, and stamp their coinage with undeniable Buddhist symbols. As a rule things do not move so quickly in India. You may imagine for yourselves how many reciprocal prejudices must have been surmounted before invaders and invaded were able to start in common a new artistic school. But there we are again: if the Buddha's prototype did not see the light before the first century B.C., then its birth-place cannot have been the already 'barbarized' country of Bactria.

Shall I add that every logical presumption points in the same direction? Impartial as you are, you will readily admit with me that the want of those new religious creations must have been first felt, like the want of bilingual coins, rather on the southern than on the northern side of the Paropanisus, rather in India than in Iran. If the Graeco-Bactrians had anything to do with them, it was only after they had had to forsake Bactria—compelled to do so by the irresistible advance of the Scythian hordes—and to fall back on their Indian possessions. There only, from the Irano-Greeks they still were, they were turned into real Indo-Greeks; there only they were at liberty to mix with a fairly ancient and exceptionally prosperous Bud-

dhist community long enough to conceive the idea of and receive orders for the production of bas-relief scenes from the life of Buddha and for statues of the Master himself. Keep saying, if you like, that Graeco-Bactrian artists created Graeco-Buddhist art; but concede that the opportunity of doing so was first offered them in the Kābuł valley and the Peshawar district, in Kapiśa and Gandhāra.

III.

Such at least are, for the present, the probabilities: the definitive answer to the question is still lying beneath the mounds of Balkh, and, as history has not much to do with logic, these when once dug out, may after all teach us better. But as we are aiming only at gathering presumptions, it is now too late to stop short: the fact that I have ventured a first assertion about the Gandhārian origins of Graeco-Buddhist art entitles you to exact my opinion about the circumstances of its introduction into Bactria. Of course, the smallest bit of fact is better than any amount of hypothesis, and it is a vain business to try and imagine beforehand what these unexcavated ruins are likely to yield to the digger. However, the ruins are there, and Sir Alexander Burnes estimates their circuit to be twenty miles, which is, you will concede, quite enough to make an archaeologist's mouth water. May we, by the way, express the hope that some kind aeroplane will soon bring us a good photographic survey of them, as has already been done for some ancient sites in Mesopotamia? Another welcome, though not very enlightening, piece of information is that most of the population, such as it was—and, after the passage of Chingiz-Khan, it never was a large one again—was removed in 1858 some miles to the East, to Takht-a-Pul, which is the seat of the Afghan governor: this general exodus will, some day, greatly facilitate researches. Unfortunately, we are still at a time where we can make nothing but surmises: yet I think our conjectures cannot possibly go very far astray. Of the great artistic river, the source of which is, we believe, in Gandhāra and the mouth in the Pacific, we know pretty well the course throughout Central Asia: why should we not undertake to dot, as it were, on the map the short unexplored part?

On Buddhist art in Bactria we possess, it is true, rather scanty and meagre information. Fa-hien and Sung-Yün took the short cut between Khotan and the Indus; thus we are reduced, about the country of *Po-ho*, *i.e.* Balkh, to the testimony of a single Chinese pilgrim; but this is no lesser one than Hsüan-tsang (seventh century A.D.). At first the number of "one hundred convents or so" he mentions—as many as in Kucha and Khotan, and far less than in Kashgar—contrasts unfavourably enough with the "1,000 and more" which he ascribes to Gandhāra. Yet what he says of the antiquity of the shrines, and the beauty of the statues, bodes well to the future excavations, and leaves no doubt that Graeco-Buddhist art spread—as it was bound to—in Bactria, on its way to Sogdiana and Serindia. The only question is, when did this spreading take place? Provisionally, I should think it did not, in earnest, till the time of Kanishka. Let us bear in mind that the vast kingdom of this monarch, the second great emperor of Buddhist tradition, was thrown across the Hindoo-Koosh

much as a double bag across a pack-saddle. As Aśoka's conversion had reacted all over India, so did that of Kanishka react over a large part of Central Asia. The first had pushed on at a stroke the Good Law to Gandhāra and Kashmīr, the second made it cross the Roof of the World and smoothed for it the way to China; and so you can well understand why the Buddhist Fathers are always so partial to both, to the Barbarian as well as to the Indian King. Everything reckoned, I should readily attribute to the end of the first century A.D. the oldest foundations noticed by Hsüan-tsang in the district of Balkh.

If now you enquire about the characteristics of Buddhist art in Bactria, I may safely answer that it would be absurd to suppose its productions to be very different from those which have already been excavated either on the South-Eastern border of that country, in the Kābul valley, or on its North-Eastern one, in Chinese Turkestan. Only I should be inclined to conjecture that the decoration of Bactrian convents was already more like that of the Serindian than of the Gandhārian ones. At least, as soon as we reach the Bamyan Pass, beyond Kābul, this impression forces itself upon us. Of the famous antiquities of that place, we have some sketches made by Capt. Maitland, one of the officers of the Afghan Boundary Commission, and published in the J.R.A.S. for 1886.[1] Not only do the numerous caves and idols carved in the conglomerate rock on the sides of the gorge bear a striking resemblance to the "Ming-oi" of Chinese Turkestan, but the drawings made from the paintings in the grottoes might be mistaken by any expert for those you will soon see reproduced in the second Report of Sir Aurel Stein on Serindia. Shall we gather the same idea from the Buddhist remains of Balkh, once they are rid of their cover of earth? You will perhaps be surprised if I say that much depends upon the geological formation of the Oxus basin. Few people realize what a boon the bluish slate, which is to be found in the valleys adjoining the Kābul and Swat rivers, was for Gandhāra sculpture. It meant for it what marble meant for Greek art. As C. Masson rightly says in a Memoir forming a part of *Ariana Antiqua* (p. 56) concerning the *stūpas* of Jellalabād: "The abundance of primitive slate, of a fine dark colour, in the hills of Afghanistan, has furnished the artists with a plentiful supply of excellent and easily worked stone, of which they have admirably profited to promote the elegance and beauty of these structures." If the hills nearest the course of the Oxus did not supply a suitable stone for carving, then the Bactrian artists must have been obliged to fall back on the materials used all over Central Asia, *viz.* stucco and clay: and, in that case, the kinds of Buddhas excavated by Sir Aurel Stein on the plaster-coated walls of the Rawak *stūpa*, in the region of Khotan, would probably give us a fair foretaste of what we may expect to dig out of the Balkh tumuli.

Shall we press the subject still further? We are at liberty to look forward to many other kinds of discoveries. We could for instance anticipate among the finds, in addition to Buddhist sculptures, some Iranian ones as well, such as images of the

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[1] Since the above was written I have found among the photographs brought back by the Afghan Boundary Commission two views of the Bamyan Pass, and three of Balkh: they merely confirm the impression.

famous goddess Anaitis, who had one of her most celebrated shrines in Bactra, or of her consort Mithra, or of any one of the numerous deities which figure besides the Buddha on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Or we could foresee the discovery of purely classical objects in even a larger number than in Gandhāra, owing to the privileged situation of Bactra on the high trade road to and from the Hellenized countries of Western Asia. I would not hesitate in prophesying especially the turning up of interesting specimens of Graeco-Sassanian and Graeco-Persian plate and jewellery: we already have as a pledge the well-known patera from Badakshan and the celebrated "Treasure of the Oxus", which now are much prized possessions of the British Museum. The first is rather a debased piece of work, but the second contains very fascinating things indeed, some of Greek and some of Persian workmanship, even some which—as is the case with an admirable gold bracelet of inlaid jewellery—raise the much-controverted question of Scythian influence. Such are the principal ways, without reckoning many unexpected others, in which we may confidently predict that any diggings at Balkh would be amply rewarded.

But I perceive that we are insensibly drifting further and further away from our main thesis. To sum up, I have endeavoured, first of all, to make a strong case in favour of Gandhāra being the real cradle of the Graeco-Buddhist school: the fault does not lie with me if, by the way, I could not help convincing you of the paramount importance of Bactria or, if you prefer to call it so, Afghan Turkestan, for the history of Eastern Art. I should not be much astonished—nor very sorry, either—if this side-issue had somewhat thrown the title of my lecture into the shade, for it is after all the most interesting and actual part of my subject. Preoccupied as we are with the past, we cannot but be confronted now and then with the present, and even feel tempted to interrogate the future. One question, I am sure, is to-day on your lips, which before I conclude I must venture to express. Will this be one of the belated consequences of the Great War to have the Afghans brought out of their wild isolation, and taught to give up the unprofitable rôle of dog in the manger? To speak plainly, will they at last be induced to admit archaeological missions to their territory? Let us wait and see. In matters of diplomacy ordinary mortals must remain content with repeating the cautious as well as shrewd utterance of the old Indian poet, who, to conclude a highly philosophical hymn of the Rig-Veda, says: "Only the gods know, and perhaps even *they* do not know."

Panjab Historical Society.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1914.

During the year 29 new members have been elected. By resignations or decease we have lost eleven members, leaving a net increase of 18, and a total membership of 185.

There are, however, some 20 members who, owing to transfer or other reasons, have failed to demonstrate their interest in the Society, by paying subscriptions or notifying any change in their address. Endeavours are being made to get in touch with these members and ascertain whether they desire their names to be retained on the Society's rolls. In cases where such efforts are fruitless the names will be removed.

There have been seven meetings of the Society during the year. The papers read include some contributions of considerable interest, and may be fairly claimed to have maintained the high level of excellence that is looked for from this Society.

At the Annual Meeting held last January Professor Ramsay Muir, a distinguished historian, who was in Lahore as a Special Lecturer in the University, delivered a striking lecture on the Organization of Historical Research. Professor Ramsay Muir emphasized the importance of that study of local history which it is the main object of this Society to encourage. He dealt also with the fundamental importance of research not merely for discovering particular facts but as the foundation of sound teaching, and outlined a possible development of historical studies in India.

In Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain's paper on the Sikh Pahul he gave us the first detailed description in English of that interesting ceremony, and traced parallels to the baptismal customs of other peoples. Father Felix in his paper on Moghul Seals traced the use of official seals back to remote times and discussed particular specimens of the Moghul period with a great wealth of erudition.

Three papers were read in Simla including an account of Guru Nanak by Sardar Jogendra Singh, a careful study of Sher Shah by Khan Zulfiqar Ali Khan, and a lecture illustrated by lantern slides on the Excavations at Taxila by Dr. now Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology. This last, which is in the press[1] with five plates, is of more than local importance and is likely to be read with interest by many scholars throughout Europe, as soon as such studies are resumed on that continent. The paper that had been arranged for the autumn fell through. In December the Honorary Secretary delivered a lecture on the Theory of a second Aryan invasion.

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[1] Published in Vol. III, 2, P.H.S. Journal.

The first part of the third volume of the Journal has been published. The second part is in the press, but has been somewhat delayed by the preparation of plates, and by the difficulties in getting proofs read by authors in Holland, the British Museum, or the highlands of Pangi. It is regretted that more progress has not been made in the publication of the interesting series of sanads collected by Father Felix, but a scholar who kindly offered to assist in editing these, subsequently found himself unable to undertake the task. We have now obtained the services of Dr. Azim-ud-din Ahmad and hope to complete the work during the year. A problem relating to the exact site of the Battle of Delhi, which was referred to the Society, has been investigated by the President, and his results will soon be ready for publication.

Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux.

The documents reproduced below have been sent by Mr. P. S. Allen, formerly of the Indian Educational Service, who came across them when travelling in Provence in April, 1914.

The name of the writer—Austin of Bordeaux—is well known to Indian historians, but there is singularly little authentic information regarding him. The little that is known has recently been put together by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., in an interesting paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 2nd September, 1914, and it will suffice here to note briefly that there appear to be seven references to him of a more or less contemporary character.

(i) Jahángír in his Tuzuk-i-Jahángírí mentions that in 1619 a throne of gold and silver with supports in the form of tigers was completed by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand, who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller and to whom he presented 3,000 darb, a horse and an elephant.[1] This Hunarmand, as will be seen from the letters below, was Austin of Bordeaux.

(ii) The German traveller von Poser met at Agra on 25th December, 1621, 'Herr Augustinus Hiriart von Bourdeaux aus Gasconien, Ingenieur des Grossen Mougouls' and went with him to Lahore. On the 19th January, 1622, at Núrpur the King came and inspected the golden throne, one foot high, which had been made 'nach des Herren Augustin Angaben.' Lahore was reached on 25th January and on the 28th April von Poser left with regret the 'väterliche Hauss' of Augustin in that city.[2]

(iii) From the East India Company records it appears that the English traveller John Mildenhall travelled from Persia to India with a Frenchman in whose house at Ajmer he died in June, 1614. There is a letter among the India Office archives (Factory Records, vol. xxxiv, Part I, p. 131) which gives the Frenchman's name as 'Augustine'; and Mr. W. Foster in 1910 conjectured with much probability that this was Austin of Bordeaux.[3] The identity of 'the Frenchman' and our Austin is now established by the fact that Sir Robert Shirley is reported by one of the E. I. Company's servants to have left Agra in September, 1614 'carrying the Frenchman's elephant with him' and that the despatch of this elephant with Sir Robert Shirley is duly chronicled in the first of the letters below. This being so it will follow (if the Company's servants are to be believed) that Austin was a Protestant; that he was Mildenhall's executor; that he burnt Mildenhall's papers and annexed his effects; that his house was searched and himself imprisoned at the instance of the Company's servants; and that he promised Mildenhall to marry a daughter of Mildenhall's by an Indian woman.

(iv) It is *possible* also that it is to him that Bernier refers when he writes in July 1663 of the peacocks on a 'peacock throne' at Delhi: 'deux Paons couverts de pierreries et de perles, qui sont de l'artifice d'un François nommé....qui etoit un merveilleux Ouvrier et qui, après avoir trompé plusieurs Princes d'Europe par ces Doublets qu'il savoit faire à merveille, se refugia dans cette Cour ou il fit fortune.'[4]

(v) Tavernier in describing the Mogul Court at Agra (which he visited for the first time in 1640) writes :-

"Shah Jahan had intended to cover the arch of a great gallery which is on the right, with silver, and a Frenchman named Augustin of Bordeaux was to have done the work. But the Great Mogul

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[1] Rogers and Beveridge, The Tuzuk-i-Jahángírí, Vol. ii, pp. 80, 82–3.

[2] See also Mr. Wm. Irvine in J.R.A.S. 1910, pp. 1343–4.

[3] See J.R.A.S. 1910, pp. 494–5. Purchas (Glasgow ed.) iv, 173–4. Letters Received, ii, 98, 105, 141–2, 299.

[4] Amsterdam edition 1724, ii, 53. Constable in a footnote on p. 269 of his translation says that in Stewart's edition of 1826 the missing word is supplied as 'La Grange.' Beresford's 'Delhi' (1856) according to Harcourt's 'New Guide to Delhi' (p. 91) assumes that Austin is referred to.

seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was capable to send to Goa to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done, for, as the ability of Augustin was feared, he was poisoned on his return from Cochin.''[1]

(vi) The Rev. H. Hosten has brought to notice a further reference, made by Father Philippe de la Sainte Trinité, a Discalced Carmelite, who published his travels at Lyons in 1649. Speaking of Agra he says: " There is in that City the magnificent Palace of the King where is seen a superb throne made of gold, pearls and precious stones, which is worth many millions, as I learned myself from a Frenchman called Augustin Hiriart, who is the maker of it. King Selim [Jahángír] a man extremely good, and very favourable to the Christians, had it made." His interview with Augustin is shown by the Rev. H. Hosten to have taken place between the end of 1631 and the end of 1639 either at Goa or somewhere between Goa and Surat.

(vii) Lastly we have an interesting inscription, also brought to notice by the Rev. H. Hosten, in the Padre Santo Cemetery at Agra, which runs: 'Iane de Hiriart filia de Augustin........ ... gigne (ro).'

The above is believed to represent all the existing evidence of a more or less contemporary character regarding Austin and his work. In speaking of Austin of Bordeaux, however, most modern writers rely on certain remarks made by Sleeman for which that author does not quote any original authority.[2] According to Sleeman the inlaid figure of Orpheus playing his lute in the Diwán-i-Ám at Delhi was made by Austin of Bordeaux and was doubtless intended to be a representation of himself. Austin according to Sleeman designed the Táj and the palaces at Agra and Delhi, was called 'Oostan Eesau Nadir ol asur', drew a salary of Rs. 1,000 per mensem and left a son called Muhammad Sharíf. Sleeman also reproduces most of Tavernier's story above quoted, and he adds, though with some hesitation, that it was owing to Austin's death that Sháh Jahán gave up the building of the projected tomb opposite the Táj. These allegations have been the subject of controversy among archaeologists and others[3], and it is not proposed in reproducing the four documents below to attempt any estimate of their bearing on the controversy.

So far as the letters published below are concerned, the main facts which we derive from them are that Augustin Hiriart of Bordeaux was in London in 1603 and decided in 1609 to go to the East. Travelling through Persia he reached India about 1612 or 1613 and was at Lahore in 1620 and 1625. He brought several Frenchmen with him, who, however, died after reaching India. He himself took service with Jahángír and afterwards with Sháh Jahán. He married a Hindu woman who became a Christian, and he had two children. The first of these was born about 1618, and one of the children had apparently died before 1632. He was an expert at counterfeiting stones, and he was entrusted by the Mogul with the cutting of a diamond of 100 carats. He made a throne for Jahángír and designed another for his Nauroz festivities. He also designed a throne for Sháh Jahán at Agra. He was also employed as an Engineer and made a wonderful military machine for the Mogul, but refused to make military engines for use against the allies of the Portuguese. He was at Chaul near Bombay in March, 1632, and was then proceeding to Goa to help, among other things, in negotiating between the Portuguese and the English.

So far the letters: and from Tavernier's account it is clear that Austin did not long survive the journey to Portuguese territory.

The documents, of which the four letters below are reproductions, were found in the Bibliothèque Publique at Carpentras, Vaucluse, and were copied on the spot by Mr. and Mrs. Allen. The copies were collated with their originals with considerable minuteness and it may be taken that the reproductions below are as far as possible accurate. Letters Nos. I, II, and III, as preserved in the Carpentras library, are themselves seventeenth century copies, probably made for the antiquary Peiresc (1580-1637),

[1] Ball's Tavernier i, 108.

[2] See 'Rambles and Recollections', edn. of 1844, ii, 34 & 275. Constable's edn. i, 385, ii, 175-6.

[3] See e.g. Havell, Agra and the Taj, p. 75.

while No. IV is an original. They all come from the collection formed by Peiresc, which were purchased by Malachie d' Inguimbert, Bishop of Carpentras, 1735-57, and through him came to the Carpentras library. The seventeenth century copyists seem to have found the spelling difficult, and the standards of that age in the matter of accurate reproduction were low. Copyists modernized spelling freely, and in many cases did not trouble to be minutely accurate, being content to reproduce the sense of what they were copying. It is in consequence not possible to lay much stress on forms of words and phrases in letters I, II, and III.

An attempt has been made below to provide a rough translation of the letters together with a few illustrative notes. The French of the original is at times somewhat difficult to follow in detail, but it is hoped that the translation will be found to give an adequate representation of the general sense of the letters.

THE LETTERS.

I.

Messieurs les Aubris en Constantinopilo.

Il y a long temps que i'ay desir de fero sauoier de mes nouuelles, lesquelles sont bonnes; priant Dieu que insin soit de vous aultres i de tous ceux de nostre mezon, amen.

Il y a 8 ans que je suis en ce pays. Le premier an moururent tous les fransoies que ie auois amené auec moi. Apres ie me mis au seruisio de se Roy grand mougoul: lequel premierement me donnoiet 4 escus par jour (par mois 120), mes asturo l' année passee, il ma fet Capiteno de 200 chevaux. Je lui fis un trono real, ou il y a antre plusieurs milions d'or e dargant et plusieurs autro inuansions, comme de talier vn diamant de 100 guilats an 10 iours. Les grandeurs de se Roy ne se peuuent croero: sulemant ian direy troies diamans grans e rubis bales grans il en a plu luy sul que tous les ommes deu mondo; e quant il va promener par son pais, il meno aueque soy quinze cens mil Creatures humeynes, chevaliers, soldats, ofisiers fammes e anfans, auec six mil ellefans auec beaucoup d' artilieria ancore quelle ne sert de rien que par grandur. Il m'a donné dus ellefans, dus chevaux, une mezon de pris de 8 mil liuvra, e sa figuro dor por pandro a mon chapeu; qui est en sinal donneur, comme en Franso lordro du sainct Esprit. Je suis marié, et iey vn anfant de dus ans. Toutesfois i'ey tousiours vn chatoulieus dezir de reuoier ma patrie. Quelques années passées ie voulus prandro Lisanso, mes le Roy ne me l'a voulue donner; et croyant l'auoir ie mandis vn ellefant por perse auec don roberto Charly, pere de Don Antonio Charly, d'isi. A vn an ie veus demander vn autro foies lisanso, et amener auec moy vn autro ellefant. Je vous prie de mander a Monsieur L'ambassadeur s'il se put passer librement par la Turquie et me auiser par la vie de Espahan * addressant la carta a los padres carmelitanos descalsos en espan. Ilz me manderont la letro an la court de se Roy gran mongoul.

Ecbati- des an- s.

Je vous prie aussy de fere une couuerto a esto letro insin ecrito.

A Monsieur Castaniac marchant jeolier, a la plaso du pales a Bourdeux: A fin que mes parans sachet que Dieu ne m'a pas encore talie le fil de sete vie. Apres mes humbles Recommandations.

Vostre seruiteur
Augustin Houaremand, qui est
vn nom que le Roy m'a donné en Persian
veut dire inuenteur des ars.

De la site de Lahor.
20e de Juliet 1620.

TRANSLATION OF THE LETTERS.

I.

Letter from Lahore dated 20th July 1620.[1]

Messieurs les Aubris[2] in Constantinople,—I have for a long time wished to send you my news—which is good—and I pray God that it may be so with you and all those of our house. Amen.

I have been in this country eight years. All the Frenchmen I had brought with me died in the first year, and thereafter I took service with this King, the Great Mogul, who at first gave me 4 crowns[3] a day (120 a month) but now during the last year has made me a captain of 200 horse. I made him a royal throne in which there are several millions of gold and of silver, and several other inventions such as cutting a diamond of 100 carats in ten days. It is impossible to realize the magnificent charactertics of this King and I shall mention only three of them; his large diamonds; his large balas[4] rubies of which he alone has more of these than all the men in the world; and when he marches through his kingdom he takes with him fifteen hundred thousand human beings, horsemen, soldiers, officers, women, and children, with six thousand elephants and much artillery which serves no purpose but to show his magnificence. He has given me two elephants and two horses, a house valued at eight thousand livres[5], and his likeness in gold to put on my hat, which is a mark of honour corresponding to the Order of the Holy Spirit in France. I am married and have a child of two years, but none the less I have always an itching desire to revisit my own country. Some years past I wished to take leave, but the King did not wish to give it me. Anticipating that I would obtain it, I sent an elephant through Persia with Don Robert Shirley, father of Don Antony Shirley from this place.[6] I intend to ask again next year for leave and to bring with me another elephant. I beg you to ask the Ambassador if it can pass freely through Turkey and to let me know by way of Ispahan* addressing the letter to the barefooted Carmelite fathers in Ispahan. They will send me the letter to the Court of the Grand Mogul. I beg you also to forward this letter addressed as follows "To Monsieur Castaniac, Merchant Jeweller, Place du Palais, Bordeaux," so that my relations may know that God has not yet cut the thread of my life,

*This is the old Ecbatana.

With humble commendations, your obedient,
Augustin Houaremand[7] (a Persian name which this King has given me, and which means "inventor of arts").

From the city of Lahore,
20th July 1620.

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[1] Carpentras MS. 1777 f. 361.

[2] The 'Nouvelle Biographie Générale' includes a Jean Aubrey of Montpellier, an alchemist and doctor, who died about 1667 A.D. He had travelled in the East to convert the heathen, but afterwards returned to France and published books on alchemy.

[3] A crown (écu) was 3 livres and worth about 4*s.* 6*d.* (Ball's Tavernier i 411.)

[4] Balas, 'a kind of ruby or rather a rose red spinelle.' Hobson-Jobson (1903), p. 52. Cf. Ball's Tavernier i, 382n.

[5] A livre may be taken as worth about 1*s.* 6*d.* Vide note p. 380, vol i. Ball's Tavernier.

[6] Sir Robert Shirley was the brother, not father, of Sir Antony Shirley. He started from Persia for Europe via Goa in 1615. He was several times in Persia and died in July 1628. His brother Antony died some time after 1619. (See Dict. Nat. Biog.). As noted in the Introduction above, the E. I. Company's agent at Agra duly records Shirley's departure from Agra in 1614 with 'the Frenchman's elephant.' 'Sir Robert,' he adds, 'swore to me he would make him juggle for another.'

[7] Sc Hunarmand.

II.

Deux lettres escrites le 26 et 27 d'Auril 1625. De Lahor, Ville Capitale du Grand Mogor, au Baron du Tour, par Augustin Hiriart, Jouallier.

Monsieur. La premiere cognoissance que iay eue auec V. S. fut à Londres lors que le Roy vous enuoya pour congratuler le nouueau Roy d' Angleterre, le Roy Jacques, venant d'Escosse ; apres ie uous ay quelquefois esté uisiter à l'hostel de Venise au fauxbourg St. Germain, et m'auez cogneu pour homme curieux. Entre autres choses i'ay esté expert pour contrefaire les pierreries; mais croissant d'aage i'ay creu d'ambition, et pour me rendre admirable au vulgaire estoit necessaire faire quelque seruice remarquable à mon Roy et seigneur. Or l'annee deuant le decez d'Henry le Grand ie me resolus d'aller uoyager par les Royaumes Orientaux; et ne trouuant en Ægypte, Arabie, Mesopotamie, Babylone, Perse chose digne d'un Roy, i'ay passé outre vers ce Roy des Indes, dict communement Grand Mogor ou Mougoul, ici appellé Jangir, qui signifie Veyquer du monde, le Huicte descendant du Grand Tamberlan, lequel prit prisonier Soltan Baiazet, Grand Turc, et l'emmena prisonier dans une caige de fer l'an 1397, et mourut par le chemin. Moy, disie, estant arriué icy ie fus raui de uoir les Elefants, qui sont bien differents de ce que l'on les peinct et de ce que l'on en dict, car ilz se plient aussy bien qu' un chat, mais de son entendement, il en a plus que l'on n'en a escrit. Lors que le Roy ua à la chasse des sauuages il emmene 4 ou 5 mille Elefants priuez, et quinze cens mil Creatures humaines, et en cette prouuence demeura asture sept annees, et toutes fois les villes demeurent peuplees. La chasse des menus animaux, comme cerfs, bufles, beufs, asnes, tigres, lions, loups, renards, et autres animaux incognuz a nous—la chasse se faict de telle açon. Le roy mande que tout le peuple d'un pays se tienne main à main, ainsy 25 mil hommes uont enclorre monts et uallees, et uont criant et battant des tambours, et uont en estresissant peu à peu uers un parc enclos et ouuert d'un costé ou uont entrant cez animaulz. Or dedans il y a de maisons pour les femmes ; car quand e roy chemine, emmene auec luy 2 ou 3 mil femmes. Quelques unes montent a cheual auec le roy dans le parc et uont tuant à l'harquebuze et à coups des flesches de ces animaux. Deux fois ce roy à failly d'estre tué des lions et tigres, une fois estant à pied, et une autre fois sur son elefant, ou estoit sauté le lyon desus, mais auec le manche de l'harquebuze le roy le renuersa par terre.

Ce pays icy du costé du midy est fort chaud, c'est pourquoy moururent tous les françois que jy auois emmené, et du costé du Septentrion et fort froids. De l'Est a l'Ouest, qui est depuis la Perse iusques aux confins du Roy de Raquan, d'ou uiennent les rubis, il y a cinq mois de chemin, et en trauerso du Midy au Nort, qui est le Goulfo de Cambaya iusques au Royaulme de Camir, il a mois de chemin vn peu plus au Nort. Il a conquis l'annee passée une prouince, lequel pays s'appelle Castor. Asture le roy a mandé plus oultre au Nort une armee uers un prince qui s'appelle le petit Tabet, voysin d'un autre qui s'appelle le grand Tabet: lequel grand Tabet est Chrestien et duquel le Pape n'a nulle notice. Je ne sçay par quel Apostre fut faicte la conuersion, si ce nest par St.

II.

Letter from Lahore dated 26th April 1625.[1]

(Two letters written on the 26th and 27th April, 1625, from Lahore, the capital city of the Grand Mogul, to Baron du Tour[2] by Augustin Hiriart, Jeweller.)

Monsieur,—The first acquaintance I had with your Lordship was in London when the King sent you to congratulate King James, the new King of England, on his arrival from Scotland.[3] I have since been several times to see you at the Hotel de Venise in the Faubourg St. Germain, and you have known me as a man of many interests. Among other things I was expert at counterfeiting precious stones, but as my age increased my ambition increased also, and in order to obtain public esteem it was necessary for me to render some remarkable service to my King and Lord. The year before Henry the Great died[4] I decided to travel in the Kingdoms of the East; and finding nothing in Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia or Persia worthy of a King, I passed on towards this King of India, commonly called the Grand Mogor or Mogul, here entitled Jahángír, which means Conqueror of the World, the eighth in descent from the Great Tamerlane, who took prisoner the Grand Turk, Sultan Bajazet, and carried him away a prisoner in an iron cage in the year 1397[5] and he died by the way. To return to myself, having arrived here I was delighted to see the elephants which are very different from what they are painted and described, for they bend themselves as easily as a cat, but they have more intelligence than people have written. When the King goes hunting wild beasts, he takes with him four or five thousand elephants of his own and fifteen hundred thousand human creatures; and he has now been seven years in this province and the towns none the less remain inhabited. Minor animals, such as deer, buffaloes, oxen, asses, tigers, lions, wolves, foxes, and others unknown to us are hunted in the following fashion. The King commands that all the people of a neighbourhood should hold each others' hands, and in this way 25 thousand men go surrounding hills and valleys and shouting and beating drums and narrowing gradually towards an enclosed park which has one side open by which these animals enter. Now inside there are houses for the women, for when the King journeys he takes with him two or three thousand women. Some of them ride with the King in the park and shoot these animals with arquebuses or with arrows. This King has twice been nearly killed by lions and tigers, once when he was on foot, and another time when he was on his elephant the lion had leapt on him, but the King struck him to earth with the butt of his arquebus.

This country here on the South side is very hot, and this is why all the Frenchmen whom I brought with me died[6]—and on the North side very cold. From East to West which is from Persia to the confines of the King of Raquan[7] (whence come the rubies) it is a journey of 5 months, and across from the South to the North, which is from the Gulf of Cambay to the realm of Kashmir, it is a month's journey. A little more to the North,[8] he conquered last year a province, a country called Castor.[9] Now the King has sent an army still further north to a prince called the Little Tibet, who adjoins another called the Great Tibet. This Great Tibet is a Christian, one of whom the Pope has no knowledge.[10] I know not to which Apostle the conversion is due, unless it be to St. Thomas who converted the Armenians

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1 Carpentras MS. 1777 f. 354. A copy made by a different hand from f. 361, but by the same as f. 355.

2 Charles Cauchon of Maupas, Baron du Tour, b. 1566, was a French diplomatist who was charged in his time with several special missions, including one to England. He was Grand Almoner and a very charitable and religious man (Nouv. Biog. Gén.).

3 i.e. in 1603.

4 Henri IV was assassinated in 1610.

5 This should be 1402.

6 The Rev. H. Hosten writes of an inscription on a tomb at Agra which runs 'Cipriano de Paris moreo aos 4 de iannero 1614.' This may have been one of Austin's Frenchmen.

7 Arakan. Herbert, p. 362.

8 These six words should apparently come into this sentence.

9 Kashghar.

10 Regarding the prevalent idea that the Tibetans were Christians vide Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither; pp. xxxviii and 551.

Thomas qui conuertit les Armeniens et moureut aux royaulmes de Dacan qui confronte au Suest ce pays icy. Les loix y sont simples, ne sçachans que c'est de longueurs des procez. Les differents se definissent au mesme temps qu'ilz sont commencez et ne coustent rien. Les Mahometans sont les maistres: toutefois chascun uit en liberté de conscience. Il y a quelque 60 sortes de Gentilz, qui ne s'allient poinct les unes auec les aultres, non plus que faisoient les 12 lignees de Jacob encores ilz l'obseruent plus estroictement, car ilz ne mangent poinct les uns auec les autres, mais en cecy ilz s'accordent tous et cognoissent un Dieu pour moteur, et ne laissent d'adorer les idoles: et nul ne mange de la chair de vache.

Des choses estranges qu'ilz font que diray-ie ? Seulement je parleray de ma maison. La mere de ma fame et sa soeur, lors que moururent leurs marits, elles se bruslarent toutes uifues, tenans embrassé le corps de leurs maris morts: mais ce fut auparauant que ie fusse allié en cette maison; car aprez le reste des parens se sont faicts Chrestiens, sçavoir deux soeurs, l'une en ma femme. Et à l'enfant plus grand le roy a donné nom Seruiteur de Christ; l'autre je nay uouleu le faire baptizer, esperant le presenter au Roy Louis mon seigneur legitime auec deux elefants: le masle le roy m'a donné et le prince la femelle. J'en ay enuoyé un en compagnie de Don Roberto Charly Anglois de present à Madrid, pour ambassadeur du Roy de Perse; mais sçachant qu'il moureut a neuf mois de chemin, j'ay enuoyé du depuis un tigre et deux unces de chasse pour courir le cerf et deux autres animaulx pour courir le lieure, appellez siagons, en Europe incognuz: et a neuf mois de chemin, qui est en Espahan, mon seruiteur feut emprisonné du temps que le Roy de Perse print Ormous, et tous mes animaux moururent. J'enuoyay aussy un Rhinocerot: mais parcequ'il estoit furieux, l'on luy uouleut faire un trou au muffle, dont il mourut. Mais un bon soldat, quoy qu'il soit trois fois repoussé de la bresche, il ne doit perdre courage. Ainsy aussy tart que ie respireray uie en ce monde, ie ne desisteray de poursuiure mon dessein, qui est d'apporter au roy quelques elefants. Je sers au roy d'ingenieur; et a cette heure il y a des guerres ciuiles. Le second enfant s'est reuolté auec 40 mil hommes. Le roy l'est allé trouver auec cent et uingt mil cheuaux. Le roy l'ayant choqué, il s'est retiré aux montagnes. Si je puis auoir licence, ie partiray dans trois mois.

Seruiteur de V.S.
Augustin Hiriart, naturel de Bourdeaux.

De Lahor 26 d'Auril 1625.

Monsieur le Baron de Cesis me fera faueur de mander la presente au Baron du Tour, ou s'il nestoit a la Cour, l'enuoyer à quelquun de ces amys pour lire deuant le roy lors qu'il passe le temps aux choses serieuses. Et au hault est escrit: A Monsieur le Baron du Tour, à la Court.

and died in the kingdoms of the Deccan which face this country on the South East. The laws there are quite simple and free from delays in procedure. Suits are settled as soon as they commence and cost nothing. The Mahommedans rule the country, but everyone has liberty of conscience. There are 60 kinds of Gentiles[1] who have no more connection with one another than the twelve tribes of Israel: they are indeed still more strict because they do not eat with each other, but they agree in this, that while recognizing one God as their author they none the less worship idols, and none will eat the flesh of the cow.

What shall I say of the strange things they do? I will speak of my household only. My wife's mother and her sister when their husbands died, burnt themselves alive, embracing the bodies of their dead husbands, but that was before I was connected with the household; for after that the rest of the family became Christians, namely two sisters, one of whom was my wife.[2] To my elder child the King gave the name 'Servant of Christ'[3], the other I have not wished to get baptized, hoping to present him to King Louis my proper Lord with two elephants, of whom the King gave me the male and the Prince the female. I sent one of them with the Englishman Don Robert Shirley, now at Madrid[4] as Ambassador of the King of Persia, but learning that it had died after nine months of the journey, I sent afterwards a tiger and two hunting leopards for hunting the deer and two other animals for coursing hares, which are called siagons[5], but are not known in Europe: and after nine months' travel, namely at Ispahān, my servant was imprisoned at the time when the King of Persia took Ormuz[6] and all my animals died. I also sent a rhinoceros, but as it was savage, they tried to pierce its snout, from which it died. But a good soldier should not lose courage though three times repulsed from the breach. So as long as I draw breath in the world I shall not desist from pursuing my plan, which is to bring the King several elephants. I serve the King [the Mogul] as Engineer and there are at present civil wars in progress. The second son rebelled with 40 thousand men and the King went after him with a hundred and twenty thousand horse. The King having encountered him, he has retired to the hills.[7] If I can get leave, I shall start off in three months.

Your Lordship's humble servant,
AUGUSTIN HIRIART, native of Bordeaux.

From Lahore,
26 April, 1625.

M. le Baron du Cesis[8] will do me the favour of sending this to the Baron du Tour, or if he is not at Court to send it to some one of his friends to read before the King when he is engaged in serious business. And at the top is written: 'To Monsieur le Baron du Tour at the Court.'

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[1] i.e. Hindoos.

[2] The original is somewhat obscure but it seems unlikely that the wife here referred to can have been Mildenhall's daughter.

[3] This would be 'Abdul-Masih'. Sleeman (Constable Edn. i, 385) says Austin had a son called Muḥammad Sharif. The Carpentras library contains a letter from M. H. Alvarez of Paris, rue Michel le Course, written from Boysgeny près de Tolloze, on the 18 July 1630 to Mr. Augustin Herryard gentilhomme François au service du Roy, le grand Mogor, et en son absence au S^r^ Loys Herryard son fils, à Lahor. (If Austin had not been married before, S^r^ Loys, if he was Austin's eldest son, must then have been about 12 years old). The letter has not been copied and is said chiefly to contain commissions. From the inscription at Agra mentioned in the Introduction above, it seems clear that Austin also had a daughter.

[4] As a matter of fact Sir Robert Shirley appears in 1625 to have been in England, having left Madrid some 3 years previously.

[5] Sc. Siah-gosh; lynxes.

[6] Malcolm "Hist. of Persia", vol. i, p. 362.

[7] Rebellion of Shâh Jahân and his subsequent submission (1624-5) after which Jahângir went to Kashmir.

[8] M. de Cesi, Ambassador of France at Constantinople, is mentioned by Tavernier (Bell's Tav. i. 211).

III.

Monsieur le Baron du Tour. Par la presente que i'escriuis hier, i'ay oublié de faire recit de comme ce Roy donne Audiance quatre fois le iour—au matin pour receuoir la Reuerence de ses domestiques; a midy il faict combattre les elefantz—grands qu'ilz semblent deux tours, et si l'un uient à fuyr, il tue tout ce qu'il rencon tre et 4 mil hommes ne le peuuent arrester, mais i'ay trouué une inuention que le Gouuerneur qui est dessus, fust ce un enfant, auec un engin qu'il tient aux mains il le lie et deslie cent fois en une heure auec de grosses chaisnes de fer·et le laisse courir si peu et tant qu'il ueut. Et en ce temps là se faict des affaires de peu d'importance, mais à la fin du iour, il reçoit Ambrs et presents qui uiennent des confins de ses Pays et autres Prouinces circonuoisines; et sont la de certaine quantité d'ellefants et des chevaux de ses escueries quil tient en mille endroicts. A la nuict s'est la grande Assemblee de tous ses seigneurs qui se trouuent à la Court, lors il respond à tous les affaires d'importance, et là ou il est luy seul, donne la sentence des criminelz. Ses conseillers se sont comme Ducs, Comtes et Barons; on emmene l'accusé et l'accusateur et les tesmoings tout ensemble, tant pour choses ciuiles que pour criminelles, les procez ne coustent rien. Je diray aussy quelque chose de ce que i'ay faict icy. J'ay donné le dessein de faire pour le Roy un Throno Real ou il s'assit une fois l'annee 9 iours, qu'ilz appellent nouueaux iours, lors que le soleil entre au signe d'Aries, lors commencent ilz l'annee. Ce Throno est supporté par quatre lions pesans 150 quintals d'Argent, couuert de feuilles d'or battu, et la couuerte supportee par 12 colomnes ou il y a 12 mille onces d'or emaillé; à la couuerte, qui est faicte en dome, i'ay couuert de 4 mille de mes pierres artificielles, mais la bonne pierrerie qui se rapporte, elle est de une valeur inestimable; car des perles le Roy en a en grande quantité, mais de diamans grands et de grands rubis il est certain qu'il en a plus luy seul que n'ont tous les Princes de l'univers. A l'eschelle qui est de 4 degrez ie feis 4 Suisses comme ceux qui sont à la porte du Louure, l'allebarde à la main mais la pense uuide de vin. Vne chose estrange que i'ay faict icy sur les Diamans que les Diamantaires de Goa ne peuuent croire, ne ceux icy s'ilz ne l'auoient ouy dire par le Roy, qu'un Diamant de cent Quilats qu'ilz demanderoient dix mois pour tailler, ie l'ay faict dans dix iours. Pour les artifices de guerre que i'ay faict qui sert pour ce pays, i'ay acquis une grande reputation: i'ay faict un charriot sans risquer un homme qui tire flesche et brusle tout ce qu'il rencontre ou approche de luy. Z. De Lahor 27 d'Auril 1625.

III.

LETTER FROM LAHORE, DATED 27 APRIL, 1625.[1]

Monsieur le Baron du Tour. In yesterday's letter I forgot to describe how this King gives audience four times a day. In the morning to receive the respects of his servants. At noon he makes elephants fight against each other—so large that they seem like two towers, and if one turn to fly he kills everything he meets, and 4 thousand men cannot stop him, but I have invented a machine by which the person in charge, were it even a child, can by a contrivance which he holds in his hands bind and unbind him with large iron chains a hundred times an hour and let him run about as much or as little as he likes. At that time he transacts business of small importance, but at the end of the day he receives ambassadors and presents which come to him from the boundaries of his territories and other neighbouring provinces, and there are a certain quantity of elephants and horses from his stable which he has in a thousand places. At night is held the grand assembly of all his Lords who may be at Court, when he attends to all business of importance and there on the spot passes sentence himself on criminals. His Counsellors are like Dukes, Counts and Barons. The accused, the complainant and the witnesses are all brought up together and there is no expense either in criminal or in civil cases. I shall say something also of what I have myself done here. I have prepared a design for the construction of a royal throne for the King on which he sits once a year for nine days (which they call the new days)[2], when the Sun enters the sign of the Ram, when their year commences. This throne is supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals[3] of silver covered with beaten gold leaf, and the canopy is supported by 12 columns in which there are 12 thousand ounces of enamelled gold. The canopy which is in the form of a dome has been covered by me with 4 thousand of my artificial stones, but the genuine stones corresponding to these are of inestimable value, for the King has a great number of pearls and it is certain that he also has more large diamonds and large rubies than all the princes of the universe. On the ascent which has four steps I made 4 'Suisses' like those which are at the gate of the Louvre, with halbards in their hands but no wine in their stomachs. There is a strange thing I have done here with diamonds, which the diamond cutters of Goa can not believe, nor those here unless they had heard the King say it, namely that I have cut in ten days a diamond of 100 carats which they would ask ten months to cut.[4] I have got a great reputation for the military machines which I have made and which do for this country. I have made a carriage which without risking the life of a man shoots arrows and burns everything which it meets or which comes near it. From Lahore 27 April 1625.

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1 Carpentras MS. 1777 f. 355.

2 Nauroz. Austin's etymology is followed by some other old writers also.

3 A quintal was 100 French pounds.

4 See letter I. above. A description of the large diamonds owned by the Great Mogul is given in an appendix at vol. ii, p. 431 of Bell's Edn. of Tavernier. Tavernier (id. i, 396) says the Mogul's big diamond of 280 carats (supposed to be the Koh-i-Núr) was cut, and badly cut, by Sieur Hortensio Borgio a Venetian. He says (i. 384) that the large diamond on the peacock throne was of 80 to 90 carats.

IV.

De Chaoul 9 de Mars 1632: dans 7 jours je serey en Goa, sil plet a Dieu. Ma fame e mon anfant et an Agra.

Monsieur de Bermon. Je prie Dieu quil vous donne la grase detre añ la meme salut que je suis: par sa misericorde jey optenu lisanse de vnne maniere extrauuagante e inesperee. Le continu diselle seroiet longo a conter su le man: je direy vnne partie.

Se roy apele Chaian, qui veut dire le roy des roies, fis du bon roy Janguir, qui veut dire le roy du monde, le predesesur de seluy isy etoiet ami des Cretiens, aiant fet batir dus eglizes, vnne an Lahor e autre an Agra, sustantant les peres Jaieuistes e alant chaque annee veziter leglize le jour de la Natiuite de Jesus Crist, e aiant deuosiont de se fere Cretien mourut par pouezon: e seluy qui deuoiet dominer, son fis eyne, a ete etrangle par le fis trozieme, e le segon ausy et pase par pouezo, e le pere ausy: le catrieme qui etoiet le dernier, lon luy creua les ieus, e apres dus mois la tete tranchee, e le fis de lene ausy ansanble dus couzins jermeins: le troezieme couzin, frere de ses dus, se sauua an Tartarie, aiant perdu la bataillio an defanse de ses freres e couzins. Sete istoiere je ley ecrite au lonc a V.S.; mes se qui sansuit je ne vous ley pas ecrit, car se sont nouuelles depuis peu de jours. V.S. saura que il ia anuiron 22 ans que le roy Janguir, mon metre bien eyme, a qui jonoroies e tous ses seruiturs, il auoiet troies neueus, fis de son frere apele Damcha etans orfelins le roy les manda fere Cretiens e furet batizes par le pere Jeronimo Xauier, parant de Fransisco Xauier, lapotre de la Indio oriantalle. Lesquels troies neueus du roy furet instruits an la loy par le pere Fransisco Corsy piemontoies.

Or et il que vn de ses troies etant echape conmo jey dit de la bataillia sanfuit an Tartarie aupres de vn roy qui sapelle le roy de Belc; lequel roy lui a donne sa fillie an mariage e luy a donne vnne prouinse qui sapelle Badacchan auec dis mil cheuaux pour le seruir.

Ledit neueu du roy an son noum de batesme sapelle don Carles, e an son noum premier de sa loy Soltan—bal-songoux. Jil a demure dus o troies ans an pes, e asture aiant antandu que se roy Chaian et ocupe a prandre les troies roies de Dacan, Coutoupcha, Idelcha, e Nizamcha, ledit don Carlos set rezoulu de tanter la fourtune de se sezir de vn rouiaume qui sapelle Quaboul qui et l'antree de Tartarie dou vien chaque annee 40 e 50 mil cheuaux que amenet les marchans.

Se don Carlos asture anuoie son anbasadur pour demander ase roy Chaian se rouiaume de Caboul pour son partage: lequel anbasadur asture sera arive an Agra. Quan je partis de Lahor, il etoiet arive an Lahor. Or et il la coutume des Tartares e Persians que au meme temps qu'ils anuoiet demander quelque terre, il anuoiet armee, pour prandre par forse darmes se quis demandet par anbasadur.

Se roy Chaian, sachant que le Tartare vient sur ses terres, a fet la pes auec les troies roies de Dacan e sans sela il ne leseroiet pas lantreprinze dautant que le Dacan et tere fort riche an or e le roy de Goulouconda a 13 mines de diamans.

La maniere conme jey eu lisanse et que se roy, mon dernier metre, sachant, que je mantandoies quelque peu an tous ars, ma veulu anploier a fere artifises de guerre

IV.

LETTER FROM CHAOUL, DATED 9 MARCH, 1632.[1]

From Chaul, 9th March, 1632. In seven days if it please God I shall be at Goa. My wife and child are at Agra.

Monsieur de Bermon. I pray God that He give you grace to be in the same good health as I am. By His mercy I have obtained leave in a wonderful and unexpected manner. It would take long to tell all, and I shall recount a part only.

This King is called Sháh Jahán which means 'King of Kings,' son of the good King Jahángír, which means 'King of the world.' His predecessor here was a friend of the Christians having had two churches built for them, one at Lahore and the other at Agra, supporting the Jesuit fathers and going every year to visit the Church on the day of the nativity of Jesus Christ. He having an intention of becoming a Christian died by poison, and his eldest son who should have succeeded was strangled by the third son, and the second also was poisoned like the father. The fourth and youngest had his eyes put out and two months later was beheaded, and the son of the eldest also together with two cousins german; the third cousin, the brother of these two, escaped to Tartary, having been defeated in a battle fought in defence of his brothers and cousins.[2] I have written this history at length to your Lordship, but I have not written what followed, for it is very recent news. Your Lordship will know that about 22 years ago the King Jahángír, my well beloved master, whom I and all his servants honoured, had three nephews, sons of his brother Dan Shah. The King ordered that these, being orphans, should be made Christians[3] and they were baptised by Father Jerome Xavier, a relation of Francis Xavier the apostle of the East Indies. These three nephews were instructed in the Law by Father Francisco Corsi, a Piedmontese.[4]

Now it happened that one of these three having escaped from the battle, as I have said, fled to Tartary to a King called the King of Balkh: which King gave him his daughter in marriage and gave him a province called Badakhshán with ten thousand horse to serve him.

The baptismal name of the aforesaid nephew of the King was Don Carlos and his first name in his own religion was Sultan Bal-Songoux [Bayasinghar]. He remained two or three years in that Country and now having heard that the King Sháh Jahán is occupied in attacking the three Kings of the Deccan,

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1 Carpentras MS. 1777, f. 360.

2 Jahángír died of asthma in 1627. His eldest son Khusrú died of colic in 1621, not without suspicion of having been murdered by Sháh Jahán, the third son. The second son Parvíz died of colic due to drink in 1626. The fourth and youngest son, Sháhriár, was captured at Lahore and bl[i]nded, and subsequently put to death in 1628. With him were killed Khusru's son Dáwar Bakhsh (alias Buláqi), and Tahmuras and Hoshang the sons of Daniál, the brother of Jáhángír. The third son of Daniál was Mirza Bayasinghar. According to Blochmann (Áin i. 310) nothing appears to be known regarding the fate of the last named, but in Dow's Ferishta (ii. 100), he is said to have been strangled along with his brother Hoshang. The Rev. H. Hosten however writes: 'In the course of an article on 'O Idalxá (1629-1633)' by J. H. da Cunha Rivara in O Chronista de Tissuary, Nova-Goa, 1866, pp. 97-98, I find in J. H. da Cunha Rivara's own text: [p. 97] "Meanwhile, as the army of the Mogor was busy destroying the kingdom of Idalcão, there arose in the kingdom of Cabul, which belonged to the Mogor, a first brother [cousin ?] of his, who had been baptized by the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus] and was called Dom Carlos, but who had since fallen off again from the faith, and was as much a Moor as before. This rebellious Prince took possession of the kingdom of Cabul, thanks to the help of the Uzbeques, the most feared nation of those parts, with the daughter of whose king the said Dom Carlos had married. Owing to this the Mogor found himself obliged to hasten to Cabul, because all the horses for his cavalry came from there, and besides he feared that Dom Carlos might easily possess himself of the kingdom of Laor, which borders on that of [p. 98] Cabul, and according to the opinion of the Viceroy Count de Linhares he would do it easily, because the said Mogor is a tyrant, detested by his vassals, while Dom Carlos is brave, generous and kind; and it is said that the Persian, now that he is free from the Turks, who beseiged Babilonia, but have now retired, assists him, for great is the hatred between the Mogores and the Persians" (Letter to His Majesty of Nov. 6, 1632 Livro das Monções No. 15, folhas 5.)' See also Peter Mundy's travels (Hakl. Soc.), II. 165*n*.

3 Regarding the baptism of these princes cf. Herbert's Travels, p. 98; Roe (Foster's Edn.), i. 186; ii. 315; Bernier (Constable's Edn.), p. 287; Tavernier (Ball), i. 337.

4 Corsi is spoken of by Terry (ed. 1767, p. 422) as a Florentine (cf. Foster's Roe ii. 314n).

an preieudise des Decanis qui sont vouezins des Pourtugues, amis e confederes: a coy je ney voulu consantir, bien quils mofreriont de me fere capitene de mil cheuaux ou la rante, sans obligasion de tenir chevaux, si non a ma voulonte.

Vouiant quils ne me peuiont fere flechir par promeses, ont ouze de menaces, dizant que de dus ans de paie que lon me deuoiet, que je le perdroies ses dus ans. Je les auoies anploie an Agra a donner les montres pour vn trone neuueu que le roy manda fere auant qu'il partit de Agra pour Dacan. A se trone le roy a mande depandre an or, an diamans, e an roubis, perles, esmeraldes, dus sans foies can mil libres. Mes je ne croies pas que james il anjouira. La cruaute e lauarise langardera; car il et aie de grans e petits.

Je viens de Branpour, ou et aprezant la cour du roy, et man va an Goa, pour chozes qui minporte, e doies retourner dans dus moies, prandre ma famillie, ma fame e vn anfant, qui me reste de la tourmante que je vous ey ecrite. Jey vn ellefant e pluzieurs autres animaux e quelque gran diamant, qui me sufira de paser le reste de sete vie pleine de ondes ameres e des petit fils de dous, qui nous desoieuet nous fezant sans i panser trebucher dans le tonbeau doubly froiet, palle e transy.

Jey antandu isy que le seruitur de mon companion Mr. Jaques Peyrouselly a demure an Basoura sis moies. Je crois que vous aures rese mes letres, e que il vous aura donne conto de dus mil roupias, mil pataques de robo, quil a anpourte, sachant que son metre etoiet perdu auec 20 mil roupias alant de Mechelipatan en Pegou. Vires la fullie.

Nous auons isy nouuelles que la pes et fete antre le roy de Franse, de Espagnio. Les Angloies manploiet a se voiage de Goa, pour treter la treue antre les Pourtugues e les Angloies. Se vnne des ocazions pourcoy je vas truuer le Viseroy an Goa.

A vous bonnes grases mille foies me recoumande Mr. vostre Seruitur.

Augustin Houaroud.

viz. Qutb Sháh, Idal Sháh and Nizám Sháh, the said Don Carlos has resolved to tempt fortune by seizing a Kingdom called Kábul which is the gate of Tartary and from which the merchants bring yearly 40 to 50 thousand horses. This Don Carlos has now sent his Ambassador to demand from the King Sháh Jahán this Kingdom of Kábul for his share, which Ambassador will now have reached Agra. When I left Lahore, he had reached Lahore and it is the custom of the Tartars and Persians when they send to demand some territory they send an army to take by force of arms that which they demandby their Ambassador. This King Sháh Jahán knowing that the Tartar was invading his territory has made peace with the three Kings of the Deccan. Without that he would not have given up his enterprize, as the Deccan is a country very rich in gold and the King of Golconda has 13 mines of diamonds.

The way in which I obtained leave was as follows—The King, my last master, knowing that I had some knowledge of all arts wished to employ me in making Engines of war to the prejudice of the Deccanis, who are neighbours of the Portuguese and their friends and confederates: to which I would not agree, although they offered to make me a captain of a thousand horse or to give me the pay without the obligation to maintain the horse, if I did not so desire.

Seeing that they could not move me by promises they proceeded to threats, saying that I should lose the two years' pay which was owing to me. I had employed these two years at Agra in making plans for a new throne which the King had ordered before he left Agra for the Deccan. The King had required that two hundred times a hundred thousand livres should be spent on this throne in gold, diamonds, rubies, pearls, and emeralds. But I do not think he will ever have the benefit of it. His cruelty and avarice will prevent him, for he is hated by high and low.

I have left Burhánpur where the King's Court now is and am going to Goa on business and should return in two months' time[1] to fetch my family, my wife and one child, who is left to me from the affliction about which I have written to you.[2] I have an elephant and several other animals and a certain large diamond which will enable me to pass the rest of this life, so full of salt seas with such little streamlets of sweetness, which deceive us making us unconsciously totter into the tomb of cold, pale and chill oblivion.

I have heard here that the servant of my companion Mr. Jacques Peyrouselly stayed six months at Basra. I think that you will have received my letters and that he will have accounted to you for two thousand rupees, and a thousand patacas[3] of clothing which he brought knowing that his master was lost with 20 thousand rupees when going from Masulipatam to Pegu. Long live folly!

We hear news here that peace has been concluded between the King of France and Spain. The English are employing me on this journey to Goa to negotiate a truce between the Portuguese and English.[4] This is one of the reasons why I am going to see the Viceroy at Goa.

Commending myself a thousand times to your good favour,

I am, sir, yours obediently,

AUGUSTIN HOUAROUD.[5]

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1 Termination written downwards in margin of p. 360 of MS.

2 This may refer to the death of the other child.

3 A pataca was a dollar or piece of eight. (Hobson-Jobson, 1903, p. 683.)

4 Tavernier corroborates the statement that Austin was sent to negotiate with the Portuguese and says he was poisoned on his return from Cochin (Ball's Tav. i. 108). Foster's 'English Factories, 1630-33', p. xxxv, gives an account of the negotiations between the English at Surat and the Portuguse at Goa—but though it is stated that the Jesuits were used as intermediaries, there is no reference to Austin of Bordeaux.

5 This apparently stands for Houaremand (see end of letter I).

History in its relation to Sociology.

THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE MUHAMMAD SHAH DIN.

It was not without considerable hesitation that I accepted the very flattering invitation of the Council of the Panjab Historical Society to read a paper at its fifth annual meeting. Unfortunately, in my College days it did not fall to my lot to read, on a systematic plan and as part of my academic course of studies, the subject of History, whether ancient or modern; and in after-life, owing to the exigencies of professional and official work of a rather absorbing character, my mental equipment, such as it is, has been deplorably deficient in historical knowledge such as could be drawn upon, with any degree of confidence, for a contribution worthy of being placed before a learned body like this Society. In these circumstances, I would not have had the temerity to undertake the difficult task of addressing you had it not been for the fact that your Council, in generous recognition of my limitations, granted me the option of a subject of general interest falling within the wide scope of your objects in respect of which I should not be required to do any research work or to show any expert knowledge of history. I have to express to your Council my deep gratitude for allowing me this choice; and I hope the members of this Society will not think that I have abused the privilege thus extended to me in taking up for my discourse this evening a subject of a rather nebulous character which is admirably calculated to conceal my ignorance of all serious aspects of history, and under cover of which I can safely wander into regions that the expert historian would refuse to recognise as lying within the limits of his proper domain. The liberty of free movement conceded to me must be my chief excuse for my irregular peregrinations in the realm of universal history as represented by the disjoined notes that make up my paper; and I may be permitted to say that I should feel a sense of satisfaction if a bolder spirit would hereafter arise from among the members of this Society, and, bursting the bonds of convention, would follow more fruitful lines of historical research inspired by a wider and deeper acquaintance with the complex social phenomena that have presented themselves in the past and which confront us at every turn at present in our own country.

The object of this paper is to emphasise the view that history stands to sociology in the relation of a special to a general social science, and that the serious historical student in this country who is anxious to grasp the real meaning of his vocation must recognise the importance of sociological facts as affording most valuable material for constructive history. The subject will be treated not so much in its theoretical aspect as in its practical bearing on the collection, classification and appraisement of facts which is an essential preliminary to all true historical research.

In common parlance history is a record of the achievements of kings, warriors and statesmen; of battles, conquests and dynastic successions; and of political events of great magnitude which impress the imagination and engross the attention of large sections of mankind. A little reflection will show that this is an imperfect view of the subject-matter of history, and for a long time past the trend of sound opinion among enlightened nations has been towards the recognition of the principle that true history is concerned not with individual men as such and with their isolated acts, however great the men and however grand their acts, but with men as more or less active members of a social group, which has certain definite, though variable, relations with other social groups, and with their acts considered in their correlations with the doings of other social beings, and as links in the lengthening chain of human achievement. According to an influential school of learning, it is now a well-recognised method of historical writing that the historian should devote his attention less to personal aspects of the acts of renowned men in any given age or country than to the multitudinous ways in which those acts affected, and were affected by, the prevailing social forces and contributed towards the progressive evolution, in all the arts of civilization, of the community or people to which their authors belonged. History does not mean a bare record of facts which have occurred in the past without any reference to the antecedent events which brought those facts into existence or to other facts which followed them in space or time. As a special social science, history is no doubt primarily concerned with the correct and authentic chronicling of past occurrences; but it has also a secondary function to perform in so far as it has to discover the true import of those occurrences by finding out their correlations with other facts in contemporary human experience, in order to define and bring into prominence the social process and thus lead to a better and more fruitful knowledge of social reality. The patient and conscientious chronicler whose work begins with discovering and recording external events that have occurred in the past and ends there is not a historian; he does excellent spade work, digging up and bringing to light valuable material that lay buried under the *debris* of by-gone ages, but it requires the historian's art to turn that material to account and to build with it the beautiful fabric of historical narrative through which the present generations of men hold communion with the living spirit of the past. Every great historical event is so intimately related to other events in space and time that it is impossible to view it in complete isolation; and if it were possible to do so, the historian would fail to comprehend its totality of existence as a dynamic factor in the evolution of the social group in whose life-history it forms a conspicuous landmark. The historian must not be content with merely collecting social facts, but he must also classify and appraise them, and this he can do only if he has a clear perception of their inter-relations and inter-workings as social forces. He must not treat them in their statical repose as lifeless tissues of a dead past, but must view them in the kinetic relations in which they actually occur in the organic evolution of humanity. He must acquire a clear and correct idea of social causation, of social self-consciousness, of social process as applied to the whole field of social phenomena, for without a know-

ledge of these essential elements of the social truth it would be impossible for him to perceive and realise the true valuations and inner meanings of historical events which in their ultimate analysis will be found to be the results of the interplay of certain simple social forces that are in operation in a variety of ways in different stages of social evolution. While confining its operations to the region of recorded facts, history has to trace and describe the different steps in the evolutionary process by which humanity is ever striving to realise its true destiny, and those take a very contracted and partial view of the real scope of history who say that it must content itself with a matter-of-fact presentation of external events and take no note of their correlations with other events as connected links in the subtle chain of social evolution. The historian cannot record a continuous series of events which are worth being recorded without appreciating their interrelations and unconsciously interpreting them in terms of the social truth according to his own lights; and he is thus continually performing in one part of the field of social phenomena operations very much akin to those which the sociologist has to carry on in the entire realm of human association. The distinction between history as a bare record of external events considered as isolated facts and history as a connected and rationalised narrative of those events viewed in their relationships *inter se* and with other events and as illustrative of the nature and trend of the social process is sufficiently indicated in the terms Historiography and Historiology. Although among historians you will still come across some rather zealous advocates of the first mentioned method of historical writing, the modern tendency appears to be distinctly towards recognising historiology as the more accurate description of history viewed as a fruitful branch of human knowledge.

This latter view as to the scope and function of history is by no means a modern conception, and among the learned men of the ancient world we find some very able representatives of this school of thought. Thucydides among the Greeks, Tacitus among the Romans, and Ibn Khaldun among the Arabs did most useful work in this sphere and laid the foundation of what has not inappropriately been termed the "Philosophy of History." The method of historical study as advocated and practised by those great scholars is exceedingly fruitful, and their writings, though containing much that from the more scientific point of view of the modern historian would be pronounced as inadmissible in a work on history, throw a flood of light on the social, religious, economic and political organisations of the ancient races of mankind. Their method has been considerably improved upon in recent times by a school of historians which is represented in England by, among others, Gibbon, Carlyle, Hallam, Macaulay and Green. The idea that kings and Governments are the central realities in politics and society, and that communities and nations must be treated as existing in subordination to them has long since been exploded, and historians have for some time past been devoting greater attention to a careful study of the social phenomena in their static and their kinetic aspects, of the causes of social change, and of the general laws of social evolution which ultimately determine the position of a particular people as an organic unity in relation to other peoples.

In what we call the modern age, individual liberty of thought and action within certain prescribed limits has obtained fuller recognition in social life, and along with this there has grown up a feeling of national solidarity as a result of conscious effort for national progress in all the departments of human activity. One necessary consequence of this has been a marked change in the point of view of the historian; for whereas formerly the king as the *de jure* and *de facto* head of the state loomed so large in the historical picture as to claim almost exclusive attention, at the present day he has receded into the background and it is the nation that has burst upon our view with its fascinating variety and richness of colour and demands a minute study of its features. The historian is now occupied mainly with the principal facts and events of corporate life as they exhibit themselves in the working of social, political and industrial institutions of the nation; he studies the correlation of cause and effect among those events and deduces therefrom his own conclusions, which may be of general or of limited application according as the social phenomena dealt with are common to many other nations or constitute a distinctive feature of the particular nation which is the subject of special investigation. Whatever the result achieved, it is the method in which we are interested, and you will perceive that the method employed by the modern historian is such that he is a co-worker with the sociologist in the same extensive field of enquiry though each has his own peculiar sphere of interests and each compasses his own end by viewing combinations of social phenomena from a different standpoint.

It may perhaps be necessary in this place to indicate in a few words what sociology means. Sociology may be described as the science of the constitution and evolution of human society, its subject-matter being the process of human association or human achievement. Treating society as an organism, it studies its structure and functions with a view to discover the general laws which govern social evolution and in accordance with which the institutions of society grow and change. According to some German writers, sociology is hardly distinguishable from the philosophy of history, as each aims at tracing the progressive evolution of all human affairs and to arrive at generalisations which are fundamentally identical. Paul Barth, for instance, says that history is the science of the development of men in their activity as social beings and its aim is to enquire into the causes of social movement and to search for the laws of social progress. The student of Ibn Khaldun will perceive a remarkable family resemblance between Barth's theory and the view held and propounded by that distinguished Muslim historian in the famous introduction to his great history.

Although history has not yet attained the dignity of a science, and some eminent writers maintain that it never will, yet it seems clear that historical events are not the results of fortuitous combinations of social phenomena; and that they are mostly the effects of definite causes which operate with some degree of uniformity under given circumstances. In consequence, however, of the infinite variety and complexity of social phenomena and the existence of certain indeterminate and inscrutable factors in social evolution, of which the correct valuations have not yet been ascertained,

it has not been found possible to formulate sociological laws of universal application similar to the laws that govern the physical world. This accounts for our inability to predict social events with the same certainty with which we can predict the occurrence of physical phenomena. Side by side with the existence of a uniform sequence in some groups of our social activities due to the causal connection between sociological phenomena of a certain order, there are to be found abnormal workings of social forces which produce unexpected results and upset all human calculations. Hence the intense belief in constant Divine interference in all human affairs which finds expression in the common saying "Man proposes, God disposes."

The important fact which the historian, no less than the sociologist, has to note is that amid the infinite permutations of social phenomena and owing to the presence of the mysterious psychic element in all human affairs the task of discovering general laws that are supposed to regulate the onward progressive development of society is one of exceptional difficulty, and in order to achieve valuable results from his enquiry he must bring to bear upon it great industry, perseverance and patience. Each historian has to deal with fresh material and to grapple with fresh difficulties in seeking the solution of human problems, in regard to which the labours of past explorers in the same field do not avail him much, for history never really repeats itself. In one sense, no doubt, history repeats itself daily and hourly in human experience; for like the earth in its diurnal motion man seems to revolve in the common concerns of life round a fixed social axis. But just as the earth is perpetually moving rapidly forward in space and at every moment of time is placed in entirely new physical surroundings, so man as a social being in his onward evolutionary progress is subject to the influence of an ever-changing environment. Hence it is a truism to say that no two historical events of any magnitude are exactly alike, and that each people as a social and political entity and each period of history with its own distinctive features presents new aspects of the historical problem. Innumerable undercurrents and myriads of confused waves of social action impart vitality to every large movement in society, and it must be carefully and cautiously watched and studied in its subtle ebb and flow by the historian who would know the laws that govern the periodical tides in human affairs.

The position which I have so far striven to maintain is that history is not merely concerned with a description of external events as visible products of the social mind, but that it is also interested in considering their inner workings, meanings and relationships which alone can help to a rational interpretation of the social process and furnish the real key to the solution of the great human problem.

Let us now have a few illustrations of this principle from past history. The three great historical religions of the world, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, which between them claim the allegiance of by far the largest portion of the human race, are associated with the names of three great moral teachers of mankind, Gautama Buddha, Jesus Christ and Muhammad. The life-story of each is a noble record of strenuous endeavour to solve the riddle of life and to find out how the individual spirit of man could be made to rise above its earthly surroundings and to hold com-

munion with and lose itself in the universal soul. Were it possible for the historian to consider the personality of each as a self-centred spiritual force having no relation to the seething mass of squalor, sinfulness and superstition around it, he would fail to grasp the real meaning of nine-tenths of each reformer's work in life. Each of these great teachers had set before himself one and the same task, namely, the moral regeneration and spiritual uplifting of mankind, but each being born in a different age among a different people with a different environment, the dispensation promulgated by each had its own peculiar features and its subtle influences have flowed for centuries along certain characteristic channels. To understand the reformer and his system and the instruments employed by him in carrying out his high mission, you must thoroughly know the country in which his lot was cast, the people among whom he lived and moved and had his being, the character and volume and operation of the social forces by which he was surrounded, the opportunities for success placed within his reach and the difficulties thrown in his way by nature and man, the moral and material conditions of the communities inhabiting other lands than his own, the temper of his own age and that of the ages immediately preceding and succeeding it:—in short, you must study the central figure in its totality and in relation to its setting before you can hope to know the whole truth about it.

To know why Gautama Buddha gave up his princely inheritance, betook himself into voluntary exile, and adopted the life of an anchorite; why he was so profoundly touched by the scenes of human sordidness and misery which he saw around himself, resolved to probe the mystery of life, and threw himself devoutly into the work of promoting the well-being of his fellow-men; why his teachings so deeply stirred the hearts and fired the imagination of his people and suddenly lifted them to a higher plane of thought;—to know all this it is not enough to study the psychic development of the great teacher's inner self and to take measure of his own spiritual stature. For this purpose you must acquire an intimate knowledge of the social and political organisation of the Indian people of that time; of their customs and usages and beliefs and practices; of the moral and material conditions under which they lived; of the strength of the hold which the Brahmanical creed and ritual had acquired over their minds; and of the extent to which the dead weight of sacerdotalism .... had crushed all liberty of conscience and freedom of action and rendered hopeless all efforts for a forward movement. The circumstances created the man of the epoch; the mine had already been laid and was waiting for the hand that was to apply the match; and the explosion that followed produced a moral earthquake that shook India almost to its foundations. As the years rolled on, the lessons inculcated by the great preceptor sank deeper and deeper into the heart of humanity until the king, the statesman and the warrior acknowledged his spiritual sway, and the earth and skies seemed to be filled with sweetness and light. All of a sudden the forces of reaction gained ascendancy; the religion that had been the solace of countless millions and the inspiration of a host of thinkers was driven out of its home to find refuge in strange lands; and at last India resumed the even tenour of her old-world religious life as if Gautama Buddha had never walked on her

soil. The historian performs only half his task who contents himself with describing the life and work of that great Indian reformer and does not take account of the wide range of the Buddhistic movement from its inception down to modern times in its relation to the conditions of ancient India and to those of the other Asiatic countries in which Buddhism has for centuries ministered to the spiritual wants of the prince and the peasant alike.

We now come to Christianity, the second great historical religion that at the present moment dominates the higher thought of the world and wields its masterful sway over nations who are in the vanguard of civilization. As we contemplate the life of its great founder with its winning simplicity and its many touching incidents which appeal direct to the human heart, the master's overflowing sympathy for all forms of suffering and distress, the loving tenderness with which he poured balsam into bleeding wounds, his heroic revolt against the dead formalism of the prevailing creed and the selfish hypocrisy of its priesthood, his unceasing efforts to bring erring humanity back to the paths of honour and of virtue, and last of all his martyrdom in the sacred cause of eternal truth,—as we contemplate these things, we feel that we are face to face with a spiritual force of marvellous potency. Can the historian do full justice to the great teacher and his high mission if he only describes his personal character, his relations with his disciples, his daily round of life, his many acts of kindness towards the poor and the down-trodden, the general topics of his teachings, and the means by which he sought to impress and educate the conscience of his people? All this is very important in its own way, but it amounts to barely a tithe of the solution of the problem presented by the strange dispensation that was destined to revolutionise the world. To understand Christianity we must study the personality of the great Hebrew Seer in its relation to the Jewish race and to the other races of the then known world; we must seek in the social atrophy and moral decadence of those races the need for the birth of a new ethical movement and the secret of the powerful influence which it exercised over their succeeding generations. As a notable link in the chain of the religious evolution of mankind, Christianity in its inception had a definite relation to Judaism and to other less known contemporary forms of faith; and in its onward progressive course it replaced and modified and assimilated many systems of thought and belief which had ceased to appeal, individually or collectively, to the human soul. It is a most remarkable phenomenon in history that the Christian religion commands at the present day the homage of the most powerful and enlightened nations of the world; and the explanation of this does not lie merely in the intrinsic value of this religion and in the general conditions that prevailed in the country of its birth both before and at the time when it came into existence. The explanation must also be sought in the stage of political and intellectual development which the Asiatic peoples had then reached; in the decay of ethical principles among the Greeks and the Romans which resulted in the pollution of springs of thought and action; in the inadequacy of primitive pagan beliefs for the growing spiritual needs of men; in the unifying influence of an intense faith in one common Saviour; in the momentous struggle for supremacy, both in temporal

and in spiritual affairs, upon which Christianity entered with a rival system of faith in the Middle Ages; and in the remarkable wave of a yearning for knowledge which, as one of the results of that struggle and of other causes, swept over Christendom.

Next, we have to deal with Islam. To grasp the full meaning of the rise and growth of this religion, the historian must not be content with describing the chief incidents in the life of the Arabian Prophet,—the gradual evolution of his spiritual ideals; the steps by which he reached his monotheistic conception; his fervid denunciation of, and his long conflict with, all accepted forms of belief; the fierce opposition of the leading men of his own tribe to the spread of his propaganda; the implacable hatred with which they pursued him and his followers; and the ultimate triumph of his mission in the greater part of Arabia in his own lifetime. These are but the minor aspects of the Islamic movement, and a knowledge of these is far from sufficient for an adequate comprehension of its real nature and vitality when it is considered as one of the dominant spiritual forces of the world. The historian must know the state of religion and morality in Arabia in the time of Muhammad—he must study the whole social and political organization of the Arabian tribes and analyse the strange fabric of their usages, practices and superstitions in the light of their ancient rivalries and feuds and internecine strifes—and he must also find out the moral and material condition of the peoples outside Arabia before he can realize the nature of the refractory material with which the Prophet had to deal, the enormous difficulties that he had to contend against, and the unique strength of purpose which he brought to bear upon the arduous task before him. But of far more interest than all this to the historical student is the phenomenal progress made by Islam after the death of its founder; the rapidity with which its central idea of the one God sank into the human soul; the remarkable strength of the bond of union created through it between dissimilar races and distant lands; and the success with which the need for the spiritual training of man as a social being has been presented by it and acknowledged in practical life. To this day Islam is a living faith to countless millions, and not merely a symbol of belief that has lost all vitality in the course of ages. It is for the historian to say why this should be so in a materialistic age when religious observances have become more or less matters of social fashion or convenience.

Closely allied to the subject we have been considering is the question of the means by which generally a religious movement makes itself felt among any considerable body of men. When we study the life-history of each of the three great religions which have been referred to above, it becomes clear that the propagation of each proceeded upon certain peculiar lines determined by the character and condition of the peoples and races among which it took its rise and was spread by degrees, and that owing to the infinite complexity of sociological phenomena that must always enter into the calculation it is impossible to lay down a definite standard of missionary conduct to which all religions must conform. In actual life the political side of a religious movement is frequently more in evidence than its strictly social or spiritual side, and the historian who lays greater stress on its political side, because it is more accessible to him, gives an imperfect or misleading account of the propaga-

tion of the particular religion which forms the subject of his enquiry. This in part explains why the Arabian Prophet was grievously misjudged by a certain school of historians until the question of the rise and growth of Islam came to be studied, like other great questions, from the more correct standpoint of social evolution and by the light of the general principles underlying the development of religious conceptions among mankind. Few, if any, writers on history will now be found who will still make use of the shallow taunt that Islam was spread by the sword. This is true either of all religions or of none; and it is a sign of the adoption in recent times of the right standard of historical enquiry that in considering the question of the means by which a religion was propagated due weight is given to the operation of natural causes, such as the exuberant energy of the new faith, its inherent spiritual freshness and strength, its superiority over prevailing beliefs as a vitalizing and unifying force, the new converts' excess of zeal, the quiet missionary work of more thoughtful spirits which produces a social ferment and exerts an expansive influence over the popular mind. All these factors make for the peaceful progress of religion and lead to remarkable results; but it sometimes happens, as it has happened in the past in the history of each great religion, that a political adventurer or a powerful fanatic, in order to advance his own ends, begins to use force to spread his creed and thenceforward religion is subordinated to politics and shares its militant character. Then true religion ceases to exist except in the hearts of those who follow, in all humility, in the footsteps of its great founder. (لا اكراه فى الدين) "Let there be no compulsion in religion," says the Quran; and the Arabian Prophet and the four Caliphs who succeeded him scrupulously observed that injunction. The almost miraculous success of Muhammad's mission was due to the rekindling of the divine fire in his soul, which by his fervent preaching he transfused into those of his hearers. As Carlyle says: "The Great Man was always as lightning out of heaven. The rest of men waited for him like fuel, and then they too would flame."

Another illustration of the principle that the historian must not be content with merely describing great events as past occurrences, but that he must read and interpret them in their correlation to other events is furnished by the Crusades or the religious wars of the Middle Ages. These sanguinary conflicts between Christianity and Islam which occupied very nearly two centuries were the result of an extraordinary outburst of religious enthusiasm among the Christian nations of Europe; and though the direct object of the Crusades was not accomplished, the general effects of the wars on the Christians and the Mussalmans were both important and far-reaching. Historians have differed as to the nature of these effects, but that the Crusades led to certain great and unforeseen results none can deny. The princes and peoples of Christendom, separated by long distances, were suddenly brought into close contact with each other in pursuance of a sacred cause; the sense of common wrong, for the redress of which they all resolved to sacrifice the best they had, made them sink their differences for a time; they entered upon the gigantic struggle with a determination and carried it on with a fervour which brought their highest virtues into play. The successive expeditions into Palestine conferred upon them all the benefits

of travel; they witnessed the wonderful signs and symbols of Eastern civilization and culture; their outlook upon the world was widened and their narrow views underwent a significant change. Certain arts and sciences, to which Europe was till then a stranger, were imported from Asia; commerce and industry received a great impetus; the maritime cities sprang into great prominence; the power of the nobles declined and a new class of citizens came into existence; several religious orders were formed which helped to train and develop the best Christian virtues; chivalry was introduced into Europe for the first time and respect for women became the recognized canon of social decorum. The historian who merely describes the external incidents of the Crusades without any reference to their antecedent causes and to their after-effects on the Christians and the Mussalmans—who confines his attention to their outward appearances and does not study their inward meanings—gives but a mutilated picture of a notable phase of the history of Religion.

Coming now to modern Indian history, we find that historians in their treatment of the Moghul period have not done full justice to the great Monarchs of the Moghul dynasty, just because they have paid insufficient attention to the social and moral aspects of their rule as distinguished from the political side of it. A great deal has been said and written about Akbar and Aurangzeb and, to a lesser extent, about Jahangir and Shah Jahan; but the European historians' stock of knowledge about those Emperors is still deficient in accurate information, and the real history of the Moghul period has yet to be composed. Through our school books we have become familiar with certain stereotyped opinions about the character and capacity of this or of that Monarch, and as in our younger days we are often influenced in our way of thinking by what we read, we have come to regard those opinions as the final verdict of history. But when in maturer years we examine them more closely, we discover that while some of them are correct, others are either wholly or partly erroneous because they are based upon wrong data or hasty generalisations or preconceived notions of the writer. Illustrations of this can be furnished from most of the historical accounts of the reigns of all the four Moghul Emperors I have named, especially those of Akbar and Aurangzeb, who represent two different types of Muhammadan rulers in mediaeval India. The difficulties of the modern historian in presenting true pictures of the moving scenes which fill the reigns of these two great men are enhanced by the fact that the contemporary chroniclers of their rule were mostly either their partisans or their opponents, and those annalists' accounts of what happened and why it happened have to be very carefully scrutinised before we can arrive at a correct judgment. The constructive policy of Akbar, with its pleasing phase of a remarkably conciliatory attitude towards his Hindu subjects, has naturally won the encomiums of historians, and we admire Akbar for his valour, foresight, moral courage, wide outlook, and statesmanship of a higher order. But in our estimate of him as the man of the epoch, do we give due weight to the work and worth of the fine galaxy of brilliant men who had gathered round him and who evolved and carried into practice many of the great ideas that have made his reign famous? Take, for instance, his *Din-i-Ilāhi*, or Divine faith, which, with its quaint

yet attractive practices, stands out in the Moghul period as a most remarkable phase of latitudinarianism in religion. Was it wholly or even mainly the product of Akbar's own mind, and is the historian justified in giving him the entire credit or discredit for it? The expression *Din-i-Ilāhi* is one of those phrases by studying the life-story of which you can sometimes trace the subtle ramifications of a vital movement that marks a stage in social evolution. Read an account of that ingenious and profound Shia scholar Shaikh Mubārik and of his brilliant son Abul-Fazl in Āzād's *Darbār-i-Akbari*, which is one of the most valuable and suggestive contributions to the history of Akbar, and you will form some idea of how they, assisted partly by Faizi, invented and formulated and systematized the *Din-i-Ilāhi*, and placed within Akbar's grasp a ready-made weapon by which he, on the one hand, broke down the barriers of sacerdotal authority and assumed the supreme command of spiritual as well as temporal affairs, and they, on the other hand, gained a victory over their Hanafi rivals, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abd-an-Nabi. You must dive into the religious literature, and acquire an insight into the social fabric of Muslim Society in Akbār's time to grasp the real import of the "Divine Faith" movement so as to be able to judge correctly one trait of that great Emperor's complex character.

Akbar's *Din-i-Ilāhi* led to a marked relaxation of the religious fibre, and when fifty years later the reaction came in the time of the puritan Emperor, Aurangzeb, which created an atmosphere of austere simplicity and punctilious conduct in life, the royal Court and the people naturally chafed under the restraints imposed by the new *régime*. Aurangzeb suffered from the faults of his many virtues, because he had the misfortune to come to the throne after the Indian people had had a taste of the eclectic "Divine Faith" of Akbar and the luxurious ease of Shah Jahan, and because the temper and tone of the age had changed and he had to work out his destiny in a different environment to that which had contributed to the success of his great ancestors' imperial plans. The historian has yet to read the events of his reign by the light of the material similar to that which some years ago was collected and utilised by the late Maulvi Shibli Numani, and he may find reason to change his point of view and to regard Aurangzeb with greater historical sympathy.

The position which I have endeavoured to define is that we must study historical events not merely in their external aspects, but also in relation to their inner meanings, and that this can be done only if the historian analyses sociological phenomena with which he has to deal in the light of certain broad principles that underlie the social process. We are concerned here not so much with the judgments of history as with the method according to which those judgments are formed, and a correct appreciation of that method is as important for the expert historian as it is for the lay reader of the records of his investigations. In his field of work the sociologist as well as the antiquary comes to the aid of the historian, and he must utilise the fruits of the labour of both before he can hope to bequeath a precious inheritance to posterity.

History of Kashtwāṛ State.

J. HUTCHISON and J. PH. VOGEL.

The greater part of the historical material for this paper was furnished by our esteemed friend the Pīr Sāhib, Ghulām Muhai-ud-din, of the Ziārat at Kashtwāṛ, and to him our very cordial acknowledgments are due. The Pīr Sāhib is a man of eminent attainments, an accomplished Persian and Arabic scholar, and well versed in the history of his native land, which he has been at great pains to elucidate and verify. For many generations his ancestors have been in charge of the Isrār-ud-dīn Ziārat, and have left personal and historical records of great value. The Pīr Sāhib thus possesses unique qualifications for the work he has undertaken and we are fortunate in being able to make use of the fruits of his labours.[1]

The main source of information for the history of Kashtwāṛ is the *Vansāvali* or State chronicle, which, however, especially in its older portion, we cannot regard as fully reliable. It exists only in the Persian character, the original in Sanskrit having probably been lost. Not till the reign of Akbar do we reach firm ground, but from that period the events are recorded in fuller detail and many of them are corroborated in contemporaneous history.

It is unfortunate that no other records exist in the form of rock and other inscriptions to aid us. So far as known there are only two copper-plate title deeds, and they are of comparatively recent date. This paucity of historical material in comparison with a State like Chamba is remarkable. There are, however, references to Kashtwāṛ in the Rājātaraṅginī of Kalhaṇa and later authors, as well as in some of the Muhammadan histories, which are of great value.

The earliest historical notice of Kashtwāṛ is to be found in the Rājātaraṅginī of Kalhaṇa. There it is stated that in the winter of A.D. 1087-8 during the reign of Raja Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89) several hill chiefs visited Kashmir to pay their respects to the Raja, who probably was at that period lord paramount of the hills, and among them was "Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāshṭhavāṭa."[2] This reference proves that the State was then in existence and under the rule of its own chief. There is, however, no name in the Chronicle exactly corresponding to that in the Rājātaraṅginī, the nearest to it being the names of Uddat Dev and Mata Dev, the eighth and ninth in succession, respectively, from the reputed founder of the dynasty. Assuming that one or other of these is the name of the Raja in question, in a corrupt form, and allowing twenty years to a reign, we may conclude that the State was founded in the beginning of the 10th century.

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1 The Pir Sahib has in his possession a collection of miniature portraits of the Muhammadan Rajas of Kashtwar.

2 Rājātarang. VII, 590. Transl. Stein I, p. 315.

There are several references to Kashtwāṛ in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Chronicles,[1] but they do not throw much light on Kashtwāṛ history, though they show that, repeatedly, Kashtwāṛ became a place of refuge for persons who for some reason or other had to flee from Kashmir.

Turning now to the Muhammadan historians, we find references to Kashtwāṛ in the pages of Ferishta.[2] The first of these is in connection with a recorded invasion of the country by the King of Kashmir, in A.H. 954=A.D. 1547. Down to that time there had been, according to the *Vansāvali* in which the invasion is also recorded, 28 Rajas in succession; and allowing 23 years to a reign, which is not excessive, we are led to much the same conclusion. We may therefore assume with a fair amount of probability that Kashtwāṛ State was founded about A.D. 900. If, however, we allow for the possibility that some names may have dropped out of the *Vansāvali* in the process of copying, a thing as we know of common occurrence in former times, the date may be put back for even a hundred years.

This possibility is interesting in connection with a claim put forward in the *Vansāvalis* of four of the Hill States to a common origin, from the Rajput Rajas of Gaur in Bengal.[3] These States are: Suket, Keonthal, Kashtwāṛ and Mandi. In the Suket Gazetteer it is stated that on the expulsion of the ruling family from Bengal by the Muhammadans, about A.D. 1200, they fled to the Panjab and, in the third generation, found a refuge in the hills to the East of the Satluj. Of three brothers who then composed the family, one founded Suket, the second Keonthal, and the third Kashtwāṛ. In the case of Kashtwāṛ, the name of the founder does not agree with that in the Suket *Vansāvali*, but as already mentioned the claim of the family to be descended from the Rajas of Gaur is distinctly made. It is probable, however, for several reasons that the separation of the family from the parent stem in Bengal took place at a much earlier period than is supposed, probably as early as the eighth or ninth century.

This question will be more fully discussed when we come to deal with the histories of Suket and Mandi.

The most difficult problem in connection with the *Vansāvali* of Kashtwāṛ is its chronology, and we have been unable to fix a date for the reign of any Raja, previous to that of Rāi Singh in A.D. 1547. Many of the names, too, are probably in a corrupt form, as is often the case when written in Persian characters. It will be noted that the original suffix of the ruling family was Sena, as also in Keonthal, and in Suket and Mandi down to the present day.[4]

The Kashtwāṛ State was situated in the inner Himālaya to the east of Kashmir and included a section of the Chandrābhāga valley, extending from Nāgsun to Rāmban. The original name of the State was Kāshṭhavāṭa as found in the Rājātaraṅginī. It was bounded on the north by Ladākh, on the east by Pādar and Chamba, on the south by Bhadrawāh, and on the west by Kashmir.

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1 2nd Chr. (Jonarājā) V, 79; 3rd Chr. (Srivara) I. V, 45; 4th Chr. verses 737, 740, 786, 793, 818, 829.

2 Ferishta. Briggs' transl. 1910. Vol. IV, pp. 500, 522, 528.

3 Gazetteer of Mandi and Suket, p. 6. Simla Gazetteer, p. 5.

4 Sena = an army.

In extent it corresponded exactly to the present Kashtwāṛ *tahsil* of Jammu, if Pādar be excluded.

In its palmy days Kashtwāṛ embraced the following provinces or districts:—

1. *Kashtwāṛ Proper*—including the plateau and neighbouring country on the left bank of the Chināb.

2. *Nāgsun*—the main valley of the Chandrābhāga between Kashtwāṛ and Pādar as far as the Lidrāri Nala which is the boundary.

3. *Dachin* and *Maru-Wārdwan*—comprising the whole of the Maru-Wārdwan Valley.

4. *Udīl*—the country to the north west of Kashtwāṛ in the valley of the Kasher Khol, a tributary of the Maru-Wārdwan river.

5. *Kontwāra*—the territory on the right bank of the Chandrābhāgā between Udil and Doda-Sarāj.

6. *Doda-Sarāj*—on the right bank of the Chandrābhāgā from Sihghāt to Banihāl. The former name was Mahābul.

7. *Banihāl*—from Doda to Rāmban.

8. *Sartali* or Shatli—a small valley on the left bank of the Chandrābhāgā to the south of Kashtwāṛ.

9. *Surūr*—a small valley to the south of Sartali.

10. *Bhonjwāh*—the valley of the Bhonjwāh Nālā bordering with Balesa in Bhadrawāh.

The Capital of the State, also called Kashtwāṛ, is situated on an open plateau on the left bank of the Chandrābhāgā river, near the point where it is joined by the Maru-Wārdwan from the north. This plateau is six miles long and two broad, and is undulating, especially at its northern end. At this point the Chandrābhāgā emerges from the mountain gorges of Nāgsun, and making a sudden bend to the south flows in a deep gorge, along two sides of the plateau in its passage to the outer hills. The town stands near the middle of the plateau and is small and mean, containing a population of about 2,000 souls. Many of the houses are in a ruinous condition and the place generally presents an appearance of decay. Its glory passed away nearly 100 years ago with the departure of the ancient rulers. Few traces now remain of the buildings occupied by the Rajas, as they were almost entirely destroyed by the Dogras, when the State was annexed to Jammu in 1820. The mud fort to the south of the town is said to stand on the site of the Raja's palace. No ancient temples exist in the town, all of them having been demolished soon after the royal family embraced Islam. Most of the inhabitants of the town are Muhammadans, and there are two renowned *Ziārats* or tombs of saints—one in the town and the other at the southern end of the Chaugān. Both are associated with the Muhammadan Saints, Sayid Farīd-ud-dīn and his son Isrār-ud-dīn, the former of whom came to Kashtwāṛ from Bāghdād during the reign of Shāh Jahān—and through whose influence the ruling family became Muhammadan.

The Chaugān or *"village green."*[1] is situated at a distance of a mile to the north of the town and presents a very fine appearance, being in fact famous all through the hills as the distinguishing feature of Kashtwāṛ.

At the southern end are six Chinār trees of great size. Originally there are said to have been twelve, but six were cut down in 1785-86 during an invasion from Chamba.

Tradition has handed down the popular belief that at one time the whole of the Chandrābhāgā valley, from Singpur in the Kasher Khol valley to Tāntari at the junction of the Balesa Nālā, was a vast lake formed by a rocky barrier across the river bed. Geologically this is not at all improbable. The drainage of this lake is ascribed to supernatural causes, but we may well believe that it was due to the ordinary forces of nature, by the gradual wearing down of the strata in the river bed. This process was probably very slow and may have taken a long time.

The population of the valley in former times cannot have materially differed from that of other parts of the Western Hills, and the history of the country, previous to the foundation of the State, seems to have been similar to that of other hill tracts.

In the common tradition and folklore of the people numerous references are found to the ancient petty rulers who, as elsewhere, bore the titles of Rānā or Thākur. The title of Rānā is little known in the main Chandrābhāgā valley from Kashtwāṛ downwards, but in Nāgsun and the side valleys of Surūr and Bhonjwāh, evidences of their rule are common. In the Rājātarangini several references occur to the Thākurs of the Chandrābhāgā valley, in the 11th and 12th centuries, and this title seems to have been prevalent in the tracts where at the present time few or no Rānā traditions exist.[2] Two of these Thākurs supported Bhikshāchara, grandson of Harṣha, in his attempt to recover the throne of Kashmir.

The plateau on which the town of Kashtwāṛ stands probably became inhabited at a later period than the surrounding mountain valleys. After the great lake drained away, a hermit named Sher Pāl is said to have formed the first settlement. He was a devotee of Kāli, and many hearing of his sanctity began to visit him and took up their abode in his vicinity. By them a town was founded called Mahākāl-Kandar. In course of time, however, the people fell into evil ways and ceased to obey the admonitions of the hermit. He therefore pronounced a curse on the town which was soon afterwards deserted.

Some time elapsed and then a Brahman named Hingpat settled on the plateau. He had three sons named, respectively, Rām Dās, Raghunāth Dās, and Murla Dās, who made a living by keeping flocks of goats. In course of time a community was formed called Pohi, from *Poh*, the word for a goat in the local dialect. This community was attacked and subjected by invaders from the direction of Kashmir, or

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[1] The Chaugān or " green " is a common feature in the hills, either inside or outside a town. It is now used as a promenade and for sports, but was formerly also a parade ground. The word in Hindi means a " plain " and in Persian " the game of polo."

[2] *Vide* Journal, P. H. S., Vol. III, No. 1, p. 45. Raja-tarang. Trans. Stein VIII, pp. 548, 554.

more probably from the neighbouring hills—calling themselves Ganai and Rotar. The Rotar founded the village of Ziora, and the Ganai settled near the centre of the plateau, where the town now stands. Both of these tribes are still represented in the population, and rank as subdivisions of the Thākur caste, which is the chief agricultural community in the hills. The name of Rotar may possibly be an abbreviation of "Ranotar"=Rānāputra,[1] and if so we may infer that Rānās ruled the valleys to the north and east of Kashtwāṛ. It is more probable, however, that the Rāthi and Thākur caste is indicated, and that these petty chiefs continued to rule till after the foundation of the State, possibly under the nominal suzerainty of Kashmir.

The next event is strangely in keeping with what we find in the history of several other hill States. We are told that the country was invaded and conquered by a king of Suru in Ladākh, called Khri Sultān, who held the main valley as far down as Tāntari at the mouth of the Balesa Nālā. The name of the town was then changed to Bhotnagar, most likely by the Hindu inhabitants of the hill tracts. Khri Sultan's rule is said to have been mild and conciliatory, but he soon became homesick and returned to his native land. The use of the title of Sultān would seem to indicate that the leader of the Tibetan invaders was a Muhammadan, but we know that the Muhammadans did not obtain a footing in Ladākh till a much later period, when they conquered Baltistān or Little Tibet. There is, however, another explanation: The rulers of Suru and Kartse near Kārgil in Ladākh were called *Khṛi-rgyalpo*, but on embracing Islām they took the title of *Khri Sultān*, pronounced *Tri Sultān*, and this would point to one of the Buddhist kings of Suru or Kartse having been the leader referred to. Rev. A. H. Francké of the Moravian Mission at Leh says: "The word *Khri*, meaning 'throne', is pronounced *Tri*, and the *Tri Sultāns* mentioned in the Kashtwāṛ history correspond exactly to the *Khri Sultāns* of Ladākh history. These chiefs resided at Suru, and Kartse, and called themselves *Khri-rgyalpo* (throne king) before they became Muhammadans in the 15th century."[2] We may perhaps trace a connection between this invasion and the Chinese invasion of Kashmir in A.D. 713; as the result of which, for many years afterwards, Kashmir continued to pay tribute to China. We may, therefore, assume that the conquest of Kashtwāṛ by Khri Sultān happened in the eighth or ninth century. A similar invasion of Brahmāpura, the original name of Chamba State, by the Kiras, most probably Tibetans, took place about the beginning of the 9th century A.D., and Kulu also was conquered by the Tibetans in the 12th century and remained for a long time subject to Ladākh.

The next invasion of the Chandrābhāgā valley was from the south. Even at that early period there seems to have been a good deal of communication with the plains and in the annals mention occurs of a tribe named Panjsāsi, who appear to have been a trading community from the Panjab. They dealt in medicines and other hill products, such as dried apricots, which they received in exchange for goods. The name of the dried apricot—so commonly used in the hills—is *kishta* in the local

[1] Rānāputra, 'son of a Rānā'; in analogy with Rājāputra, 'son of a Rājā.'

[2] *Western Tibet*, by Francke, p. 48.

dialect: hence the derivation of the word Kishtwāṛ, according to local etymology, meaning "the place of dried apricots." Another derivation is from the word *kasht*, meaning "trouble." Hence the following rhyme[1]:—

Kashtwār. Kasht ka banda,
Din ko bhukhā, rāt ko thandā.
Jo ki āe jab wuh jae
Wuh hai gusain kā jhandā.

Kashtwāṛ is the servant of adversity.
Hungry by day and cold by night.
Whoever comes, when he departs,
Is as thin as a gosain's flag-staff.

This latter derivation, however, is from the lips of Kashmiris, and may be only a play upon the name. The name itself is a Sanskritized rather than a true Sanskrit word, and if taken literally can only mean a "garden of wood"; the second member of the word *vāṭā-vāṛ*, meaning "enclosure" or "garden."

Some of the Panjsāsi settled down on the plateau and mingled with the other tribes, with whom for a time they lived on terms of friendship. But in consequence of some disagreement a quarrel arose and the Panjsāsi being the more warlike, the Rotar and Ganai were subdued. But this did not end the strife, as the local tribes tried to recover their independence and frequent encounters took place between the rival tribes. The Panjsāsi lived near the southern end of the plateau in the vicinity of the Hoderi spring, and being constantly in dread of an attack they did not lay aside their arms even when engaged in field labour.

Such was the condition of things in Kashtwāṛ when Kāhn Pāl,[2] the founder of the State, with a small band of followers, arrived in the hills in order to conquer a kingdom for himself. He is said to have come from Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, and to have been a cadet of the ruling family of that place, which again was related to the ruling family of Ujjain in Mālwā. Kāhn Pāl penetrated into the Chandrābhāgā valley and reached a place called Kāndani, 12 miles south of Kashtwāṛ, and there he halted for some time to mature his plans for the capture of the plateau. After much deliberation it was decided to obtain the help of some one belonging to the place, and a woman of the Panjsāsi tribe, in return for a large bribe, consented to give the information required. From her Kāhn Pāl learnt that once a year on a certain day in the month of Phāgun (February-March) a special festival was held at the Hoderi spring. On that day the Panjsāsi were in the habit of laying aside their arms, and donning fine clothes, after which they gathered at the spring for certain religious ceremonies. It was still three months to the date of the festival, but Kāhn Pāl decided on delay, and meanwhile made all the necessary preparations for an attack. On the night preceding the day of the festival he advanced with his small force from Kāndani and, scaling the height at the southern end of the plateau, laid an ambush

[1] Vigne. *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 203.
[2] The suffix 'Pāl' is here probably a clerical error for 'Sen' as borne by the Kashtwāṛ Rajas for several generations.

around the Hoderi spring. It was still winter and snow was falling, but to this they paid no heed. In the morning, as the woman had told them, the Panjsāsi, according to custom, assembled in fine clothes and without their arms, and thus fell an easy prey to the enemy. Kāhn Pāḷ then subdued the other tribes, took possession of the place and proclaimed himself Raja.

Soon after, he began the extension of his kingdom by leading a force across the Chandrābhāgā at Sihghāt, near Kāndani, with which he subdued the tribes of Kontwārā and Udil, on the right bank, returning to Kashtwāṛ by Bandar Kot, at the junction of the Maru-Wārdwan river with the Chināb. Thereafter he built a palace for himself on the ridge where the fort now stands.

Kāhn Pāl was succeeded by his son Gandharab Sen; and his second son, Madan Sen, settled in the village of Mata near the Chaugān, while his third son, Dev Sen, established himself in Maru.

Gandharab Sen reigned fourteen years and was followed in succession by Mahā Sen, Rām Sen, Kām Sen, Madan Sen, Brahm Sen, Udhat Dev[1], Mata Dev, and Ganga Dev; of whom the last conquered Polar and Charji and added them to his kingdom. Then followed Sang Dev, Rakh Dev, Indar Dev, Autār Dev and Bhāg Dev of whom nothing is on record.

Rāi Dev was the next ruler, and of him an interesting incident is told. As has already been stated, the hill tracts, previous to the advent of the Rajas, were under local petty rulers who in the Chandrābhāgā valley near Kashtwāṛ bore the title of Thākur. After their subjection they clung for a long time to the hope of regaining their independence, and revolts were of frequent occurrence. Such an event took place in Kashtwāṛ during the reign of Rāi Dev, by a rising of the Rotars or Rāthis.

The revolt was successful, and the Raja was driven out of his capital, and his escape having been cut off by guards at Bandar Kot and Sihghāt, he with a few followers sought an asylum on the mountain of Gogan Baran, overlooking the plateau on the east side. There he remained for a year, and for his support his people brought under cultivation a small portion of land which down to the present day bears the name of *Rāi Dev Tahavan.*

All attempts to recover possession of the capital having failed, the Raja at last determined to resort to the stratagem which had proved so successful in the time of his ancestor, Kāhn Pāl. Accordingly, he and his following descended to the plateau in the dead of night, just before the yearly festival in Phāgun, and took up their position in ambush around the Hoderi spring. In the morning the people came unarmed as usual and were suddenly attacked and overcome. Raja Rāi Dev then resumed his position as ruler and on his demise was followed by Gur Dev and Ugar Dev, the latter of whom added Sartali or Shatali to his dominions and granted the village of Ugrāl in *sāsan* or freehold to the temple of Athārah baju (Ashtabhuji). After him ruled Muldar Dev and Lachman Dev, the latter of whom conquered Dachin in the

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[1] This may be the Raja who is referred to in the Rājātarangini.

Maru Wārdwan valley, and granted lands still called Lachbāta to the Brahmans in Palmar.

Sangrām Singh.—The change from the earlier suffix to Singh in the name of the ruling families of many of the hill States took place in the 15th and 16th centuries, but in the case of Kashtwāṛ it appears to have been at an unusually early period, probably soon after A.D. 1400. Sangrām Singh was the first of the Kashtwāṛ Rajas to assume the new suffix, which was then coming into use. He conquered Nāgsun in the main Chandrābhāgā Valley above Kashtwāṛ, and added it to his dominions. Previous to this it was, according to tradition, under the rule of its own Rānās. The conquest of these districts one after another is in keeping with the history of the other hill States, as regards the manner in which each of them was gradually consolidated from a small beginning, and through many centuries of warfare. All the territory thus annexed was won from the Rānās and Thākurs who continued to rule in the more inaccessible valleys. Nāgsun, the district last annexed, adjoined another district in the Chandrābhāgā Valley, called Pādar, which from early times was subject to Chamba, but ruled by its own Rānās till A.D. 1664. These were then replaced by regular State officials and granted *jāgīrs*, which they long continued to hold. Even at the present day their ancient status is still recognized though they are now only common farmers.

Sangrām Singh was succeeded by Sangār Singh, Magan Singh, Deva Singh, Firoz Singh and Narain Singh of whom little is known. During Narain Singh's reign an army was sent to Malna in Sarāj which was reduced. The people then presented a golden orange to the Raja as a *nazar*, and ever afterwards on special festivals it became the custom for the people of Kashtwāṛ to offer a similar present to the Raja.

Salhān Singh succeeded his father and in his reign Surūr and Bhonjwāh, as far as the Kāli Nai, dividing the latter valley from Balesa, were conquered. On his way back the Raja founded the village of Salhāna above Kāndani, and named it after himself.

Rāi Singh, A.D. 1547.—With the reign of Raja Rāi Singh we are brought into touch with contemporary Muhammadan history, and from this time onward we may regard the chronicle as in the main reliable. Kashmir was then under the rule of the Muhammadan Sultāns who succeeded the Rajput dynasty in A.D. 1339, and held power till expelled by Akbar in A.D. 1586. The ruler of Kashmir at the time of Raja Rāi Singh was Sultān Nazuk, A.D. 1541-52, and the chronicle records an invasion of Kashtwāṛ during his reign, which is fully authenticated by the Muhammadan historian Ferishta. This invasion took place in A.D. 1547, and the object seems to have been to conquer the country. The Kashmir army was under the command of one Mirza Haider Doghlāt,[1] who seems to have come from Kāshgar and then settled in Kashmir and afterwards usurped the throne. Mirza Haidar led the invading force in person and his second in command was one Koka Mir, whom Ferishta names Band-

[1] Author of the *Tārikh-i-Rashidī*. *Vide* Ferishta, Brigg's trans., reprint 1908. Vol. IV, pp. 500, 501, 502. Also Akbarnāma, trans. Beveridge, Vol. I, Chap. XXV, p. 348; Chap XXVI, pp. 351, 355, 357, 359-360; and Chap. XXXI.

gan Koka. The army crossed the Marbal Pass and descended into the Kasher Kol Nālā, where the Kashtwāṛ army was encamped to oppose them. The account of the expedition in Ferishta is as follows[1] :—" Shortly afterwards Mirza Haidar proceeded for the purpose of attacking the country of Kashtwāṛ and deputed Bandgan Koka, with other officers, in command of the advance guard of the army. This detachment made one march from Charlū to Dote, a distance of three days' journey, came up with the Kashtwāṛ army and encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Neither army could cross, and a sharp discharge of arrows and musketry was kept up, though without much effect. Some stragglers from Mirza Haidar's camp lost their road and joined the advance at Wary; but upon their arrival there, a violent gale of wind came on, and raised the dust of the whole plain. At this moment a small detachment of the Kashtwāṛ army then in the town, taking advantage of the circumstance, rallied out and attacked the invaders. Bandgan Koka and twenty-five officers of note were killed, and the detachment made the best of its way to join Mirza Haidar."[1]

The Kashtwāṛ records give a graphic account of the incident:—On hearing of the advance of the Kashmir army the Raja became much alarmed and took counsel with the officials as to the best way of offering resistance. Everything seemed hopeless, when an old woman, who had the reputation of being a witch, came forward and undertook to avert the danger single-handed. Taking only a spear in her hand she went to a point on the road, about a mile west of Mughal Maidān. There the precipice descends straight to the river brink and the road along its face was a mere track; it is narrow even now. This was the only way by which the invaders could advance and only in single file. Concealing herself in a recess she awaited their approach, and with her spear pushed each man, as he came opposite to her, over the precipice. Owing to the nature of the ground those behind were unaware of what had happened till many had been killed; and then the army was thrown into confusion and had to retreat, being harassed all the way by the Kashtwāṛ forces which occupied the heights above. So many were killed that ever since the place has been called Mughal Maidān or Mughal Mizār.

Vijai Singh, A.D. 1550.—This Raja conquered Sarāj, on the right bank of the Chināb above Doda, and built a fort and a village which he named Vijai. He afterwards went to Bādāt in Surūr to suppress an outbreak—probably among the Rānās and Thakurs—and was attacked at night and killed. His son, Bahādur Singh, escaped and fled to Kashtwāṛ, where he took refuge among the Ganai. The officials, however, heard of his presence and installed him as Raja, after which they suppressed the revolt.

Bahādur Singh, A.D. 1570.—The year of his accession is uncertain. Another invasion of Kashtwāṛ took place in A.D. 1572 during his reign, under the command of Ali Shāh Chak, king of Kashmir. The Raja seeing that resistance was useless agreed to become tributary, and gave his sister, Shankar Dei, in marriage to Yakūb

[1] Ferishta, transl. Briggs, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 500.

Shāh Chak, grandson of the king.[1] This invasion is also mentioned by Ferishta and the country is called Gunwar. Yākub Shāh Chak succeeded his grandfather in A.D. 1586, and made a brave resistance to the Mughals under Akbar's generals on their invasion of Kashmir. He was, however, defeated and fled to Kashtwāṛ. The story of his unsuccessful resistance to the Mughals is related in detail in the Fourth Chronicle and also in Ferishta. Akbar's General, Qāsim Khān (cf. Ain-i-Akbari, transl. by Blochmann I, p. 379, No. 59) invaded Kashmir, whereupon Yakūb Shāh Chak retired to Kashtwāṛ. The Mughal army entered Srinagar in the month of Kārtik of the Saka year 1508 (A.D. 1586). On a favourable opportunity arising Yakūb Shāh returned from Kashtwāṛ and attacked the city, but on being repulsed discord broke out among his followers, and he had again to retire to Kashtwāṛ. In the following spring (A.D. 1587) he reappeared in Kashmir and started a guerilla warfare, keeping to the mountains and harassing the Mughal army in the valley. As Qāsim Khān did not succeed in subduing him Akbar sent Mīrza Yūsuf Khān (cf. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, I, p. 346, No. 35) who compelled Yākub Shāh to submit after two years' pursuit. Ferishta states that he was sent to Delhi where Akbar enrolled him and his father, Yūsuf Shāh Chak, who had been for some time in Delhi, among the nobles of his Court, and granted them estates in the province of Bihār. Unfortunately there is no reference to a Raja of Kashtwāṛ in either authority. The Kashtwāṛ records state that Yākub Shāh Chak died in Kashtwāṛ about A.D. 1588 and was burried at Sirkot on the Chaugān. His widow, Shānkar Dei, continued to reside in Kashtwāṛ and, in memory of her husband, she had a water-course constructed from the Gogan Baran stream to the town, and a masonry tank made, called Darang Vajai, as also another water-course from Kāli Nāg to the village of Zewar.

Bahādur Singh must have had a long reign and died some time in A.D. 1588. He was succeeded by his son, Partāp Singh.

Partāp Singh, A.D. 1588.—He also bore the name of Bhūp Singh. In his reign, probably about A.D. 1606, an army was sent by the Emperor Jahāngīr to conquer Kashtwāṛ,[2] under the command of Aḥmad Khān, Dilāwar Khān and Mīrza Muḥammad Khān. From the passage in Jahāngīr's Memoirs, in which this expedition is referred to, it appears that it was due to two other members of the Chak family having found a refuge in Kashtwāṛ. The army crossed the Marbal Pass and reached Singpur, but on the way down the valley it was met by the Kashtwāṛ forces and defeated.[3] Many of the Mughals were killed by stones rolled down the mountain slopes, among them being Mīrza Muḥammad Khān, one of the commanders, and probably related to the Emperor. On hearing of her husband's death his widow broke out into great lamentations and took an oath to give herself no rest till she had bathed her hands in the blood of those who killed him, and cast the very dust of Kashtwāṛ into the Chandrābhāgā. Accordingly, she sent to Jahāngīr and he des-

[1] Ferishta, transl. Briggs, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 522. In Ferishta the name is *Shāh Chak*: other authorities give *Khān Chak*.

[2] Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri, transl. Rodgers and Beveridge, Vol. II, 135.

[3] It was probably on this occasion that the place received the name of Mughal Maidān or Mughal Mizār. The word *Mizār* means "slaughter." Cf. Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 119, note.

patched 10,000 men under Zu-ul-Qadr and Dilāwar Khān to destroy Kashtwāṛ. The widow accompanied the army, and on its approach to the capital *via* Singpur, the Kashtwāṛis broke down the *jhula* or swing bridge at Bandar Ḳot, so that the Chandrābhāgā could not be crossed. The Mughals therefore settled down on a plain called Brinj Bāgh, built a fort, made a tank, laid out a garden and planted trees. Popular tradition affirms that they remained there for fourteen years, but according to the Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīri it was only four months and ten days. They then bribed the villagers of Puchāl, Pohi and Holu to help them to throw a *jhula* across the river and under cover of night reached the left bank and advanced to the Chaugān. A battle ensued in which the Kashtwāṛ army was defeated and the Raja fled to Bhadrawāh. The widow took up her abode on the Chaugān for three months, and began to lay waste the country. The people then went and begged her to put a stop to the destruction of life and property. She replied that they must devise some way of relieving her from the vow she had taken, to cast even the dust of the place into the river. Finally, after consultation it was agreed that a tank should be dug near the grave of Yākub Shāh Chak and the earth thrown into the Chandrābhāgā, and thus she was realeased from her vow. The tank has ever since been called Sirkot. The Mughals then retired to Kashmir and Raja Bhūp Singh returned from Bhadrawāh and died about A.D. 1616.

Gur Singh, A.D. 1616.[1]—In the year following this Raja's accession, which was the 12th year of Jahāngīr's reign, there was another Mughal invasion. The State had doubtless been made tributary previous to this, but the Raja, trusting to the inaccessible character of the country, was unwilling to submit. Dilāwar Khān, the governor of Kashmir, was therefore again sent to subject the State. He was informed that in the event of failure he would lose his *jhandi*, "flag of rank," and his *nakāra*[2] or "salute" and be otherwise punished. With such a threat hanging over him he took every precaution to ensure success. The Mughal army advanced in three divisions, the first under Dilāwar Khān himself came by the Marbal Pass and Singpur; the second under Jamāl Khān took the road by Maru Wārdwan, and the third under Jalāl Khān and Ali Mālik made a circuit by the Braribal Pass and Doda. These three armies then concentrated at Bandar Kot near the capital and encamped on the right bank of the Chandrābhāgā.

On their arrival the Raja sent Dilāwar Khān an insulting message to the following effect:—"If out of enmity you have made war to exact tribute, hawks, and saffron, I will send them to you. But if you have come to subdue the country you will gain nothing but earth, and it will be with you as it was with Ahmad Khān, Muhammad Khān, Koka Mīr and Mīrza Haidar. Since the time of Akbar's conquest of Kashmir several attempts have been made to subdue Kashtwāṛ, but without success. You will therefore be wise to have pity on your men and return by the way you came."

On receiving this letter Dilāwar Khān was greatly incensed and ordered an

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1 The chronology from Gur Singh to Kirat Singh is only approximate.

2 Arabic *Naqqārah* (نقاره) a little drum.

immediate advance on the town with 500 men. It was easily captured and the Raja was taken prisoner and conducted to Dilāwar Khān who conveyed him to Kashmir. The city was plundered, temples were destroyed and the surrounding country devastated by the Mughals, and the territory laid waste. The two sons of Gur Singh, *viz.* Jagat Singh and Bhagwān Singh, fled away for safety.

Meanwhile the administration of the State was entrusted to a powerful Pathān noble, named Ibrahīm Khān, and the Raja was transported under a strong military guard *via* Kashmir to Delhi. This occurred in A.D. 1618. On coming before the Emperor the Raja gave in his humble submission and entreated his clemency and, on his agreeing to pay the *chha-āni*, or six annas per rupee of revenue, as tribute and send his *dothain* or second son to Delhi as a hostage, he was after a year set at liberty and returned to his State. Bhagwān Singh, his younger son, was then sent to Delhi.

About eight years later Jahāngīr died and Shāh Jahān ascended the throne (A.D 1628). Gur Singh came with the usual tribute which the Emperor, probably then in Kashmir, accepted, and recognized Jagat Singh as *Tika* or heir-apparent. Gur Singh was much delighted and distributed a lakh of rupees, kine and clothing among the needy. The Raja, on returning to his capital, built good houses and a fine *deorhi* or anteroom, 27 feet long by 18 feet broad. He also built a palace at Bandar Kot on the Chināb.

In A.D. 1629 Shāh Jahān decided on an invasion of the Dakhan and the tributary chiefs and princes were called upon to accompany him. Among them was Bhagwān Singh, son of Gur Singh, who attracted the notice of the Emperor by his bravery and was rewarded on the return of the army to Agra. Gur Singh died in A.D. 1629 and was succeeded by his son Jagat Singh.

Jagat Singh, A.D. 1629.—Some time after his accession Jagat Singh invaded Bhadrawāh, and in his absence a force from Balor (Basohli) under Raja Bhūpat Pāl and an officer named Kantak, probably a member of the Balauria family, advanced upon Kashtwār and captured it. Jagat Singh at once returned and made every effort to recover his State, but in the end was defeated and killed. This invasion is confirmed by the Balor annals which state that Bhūpat Pāl conquered Kashtwār and brought from there the *linga* of Nīlakanth which is still worshipped in Basohli. He is said to have planted "reversed cedars" in Kashtwār.

Bhagwān Singh, A.D. 1642.—On hearing of his brother's death Bhagwān Singh approached the Emperor and obtained from him an army of 1000 men to enable him to recover the State. On his departure Bhagwān Singh was required to leave some one as a hostage and he named one Ghiās-ud-din, who was accepted.[1] Two brothers, Khatris by caste, named Jewan Sen and Kāhn Sen, were sent with him to help in the administration and they enjoyed the rank of *Khwāja*, probably an honourable distinction at the Mughal court. Their decendants still reside in Kashtwār.[2] The Mughal army advanced from Kashmir by the Marbal Pass and having defeated the Basohli force captured the leader, named Kantak. He was beheaded and his head used for

[1] The State hostage was usually a member of the royal family; this seems to have been an exception to the rule.
[2] Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 119. Drew has: Jinn Pāl and Kāhn Pāl.

football on the Chaugān. Bhagwān Singh was then installed as Raja, his brother having probably died without issue. To commemorate the defeat of the Balauria troops he instituted a *mela*, called Kantak Jātrā, to be held yearly on the Chaugān.

After this the Mughal army was sent back to Kashmir with presents to the Emperor. Bhagwān Singh is said to have added Rāmban to the State.

Mahā Singh, A.D. 1661.—This Raja was also known by the name of Mahājān. He is referred to in the annals as having been just and generous, wise and learned and also a poet. Some of his compositions are still extant. He was also well read in the Hindu *shāstrās* and was superior to the Rajas of his time. During his reign Kashtwāṛ enjoyed a great measure of prosperity, and the capital had a large population. The following incident is told of him: One year there was no rain and the country suffered from a severe famine. As a remedy for the distress the Raja proceeded to a place called Chauki Khalāwa to do obeisance to the god Nīlkanth (i.e. Siva). With his face to the east he recited a poem composed by himself in praise of the deity, and describing the miserable condition of his subjects. The prayer was heard, and as soon as the Raja had finished his eulogy rain fell in torrents. The Raja then returned to the capital and fed Brahmans as a token of gratitude.

Some time after his accession Aurangzeb ordered the *Vakīl* of Kashtwāṛ at the Mughal Court to send for the Raja and meantime the State hostage, Ghias-ud-dīn, was thrown into prison.[1] Abdul-Qāsim, his son, at once set off to Kashtwāṛ to summon the Raja. The Raja, however, did not comply, but in order to appease the Emperor's wrath he agreed to build a mosque and employ mullahs from Kashmir with a grant of land for their maintenance. A large number of civil appointments were also given to Muhammadans. Abdul-Qāsim then returned to Delhi and reported all these things to the Emperor. Failing the father, Jaya Singh, the eldest son, was then ordered to repair to Delhi and was introduced to the Emperor. He was afterwards permitted to return home, and was welcomed with great manifestations of joy. Ghiās-ud-dīn continued to act as hostage for the State and on his death one Muhābat Khān was appointed. Mahājān had three sons, named respectively, Jaya Singh, Rām Singh and Sirdār Singh.

Jaya Singh, A.D. 1674.—His father abdicated in his favour, and on his accession he made his younger brother, Rām Singh, Wazir of the State, and appointed Sirdār Singh to the command of the army. He issued orders not to permit any Muhammadan visitors to remain longer than a day in the territory, failing which they would be punished. Rām Singh was sent to Delhi, probably as a hostage, in company with Abdul-Qāsim, whose father had acted as hostage for the State during Bhagwān Singh's reign. The Raja's youngest brother, Sirdār Singh, seems to have become discontented and retired to Kashmir. Unable to obtain his object he then proceeded to Delhi and was introduced to the Emperor. When Jaya Singh heard of this he at once sent his own son, Kirat Singh, to Delhi. Kashtwāṛ was then very prosperous and had 4000 inhabitants.

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[1] Possibly Ghias-ud-din acted both as Vakil and hostage.

During this reign a famous Muhammadan saint, named Sayid Muḥammad Farīd-ud-din Qādiri, came from Bāghdād. He was a descendant of Abdul-Qādir of that place and undertook his journey in consequence of a dream in which he was told to go and preach in Kashtwār. He reached India towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign and remained some years in Agra and Delhi. On finally arriving at Kashtwāṛ he took up his abode, along with his four companions, in the house near the Lachmi-Narain Temple,[1] which is now the site of his Ziārat or tomb and a famous place of pilgrimage. Raja Jaya Sing is said to have embraced Islam on seeing the miracles performed by the saint and received the name of Bakhtiyār Khān. He soon afterwards died and was succeeded by his son Kirat Singh.

Kirat Singh, A.D. 1681.—He had probably returned from Delhi previous to his father's death and was appointed Raja by Aurangzeb, with Rām Singh, his uncle, as Wazir. The latter evidently had become a Muhammadan during his residence at the Mughal Court, and received the name of Dindār Khān. Kirat Singh is reputed to have been a good ruler and solicitous of the welfare of his people.

Five years after Kirat Singh's accession Aurangzeb paid his only visit to the valley of Kashmir, and Rām Singh, Wazir of Kashtwāṛ, presented a petition through Hāfizullah Khān, in which he stated that Kirat Singh his nephew molested him for having become a Muhammadan. He entreated the Emperor either to dethrone the Raja or compel him to embrace Islam. Therefore, on the advice of Abdul Qāsim who had returned from Delhi, Kirat Singh agreed to become a Muhammadan. One account states that he was converted by force in the Shāh Hamadān Ziārat at Srinagar in A.D. 1687. He received the name of Sa'adat Yār Khān[2] and the Emperor granted him three lakhs of rupees, an elephant and 60 thousand *kharwars*[3] of grain. The following conditions were imposed upon him: (1) that no tax should be put upon Muhammadans, and no one should be molested for embracing Islam; (2) that Muhammadan worship should be performed and the Id festival duly observed; (3) that Hindus should be oppressed and kine killed. These orders were engrossed in a document and signed by the Raja in the presence of witnesses, the document being made over to Abdul Qāsim probably for transmission to the Emperor. At the same time Abdul Qāsim was by order of the Emperor appointed Kāzi to administer justice in the State.

On hearing of what had happened the people of Kashtwāṛ rose in rebellion and massacred all the Muhammadans on whom they could lay hands. Ināyat Ullah, son of Abdul Qāsim, saved his life by taking refuge with Sayid Shāh Farīd-ud-dīn, but a report of the rebellion having reached the Nawab of Kashmir he at once sent an army to suppress it. Kirat Singh then returned to Kashtwāṛ and his example in embracing Islām was followed by many of his people.

In A.D. 1717 the Shaikh-ul-Islam sent a messenger to the Raja to demand the hand of his sister, Bhup Dei, in marriage for the Emperor, and accordingly she was sent to Delhi and married to Farrukh Siyar. She was accompanied by the Raja's

[1] Sanskrit; Lakshmī-Narāyana, viz. Vishnu and his consort, Lakshmi.

[2] This name was given by Aurangzeb. Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 119. [3] *Cf. Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, 1909, p. 279, n.

younger brother, Miān Muhammad K͟hān, who received a *khilat* and a *jāgīr* of eight villages in Kashmir.

In Mr. Irvine's "The Later Mughals" (Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXIII (1904), p. 360) the following note occurs :—Another wife or concubine, the daughter of the hill Raja of Kashtwār, entered the harem on the 24th Rajab A.H. 1131 = 3rd July, A.D. 1717." Again in Francois Valentin's "Lives of the Great Mughals" (in Dutch, 1725) a passage occurs in which it is stated that Farruk͟h Siyar had married a Rajput princess who was the daughter of one of the neighbouring petty kings of the hills, and who consequently was a "gentile" woman, that is not a Muhammadan. She is said to have become his consort or empress and this connection caused much scandal among the Muslims, and was the chief reason why Farruk͟h Siyar was deposed and murdered. Whether this statement is confirmed from other sources we cannot say, but apparently the empress in question was the Kashtwāṛ princess mentioned by Mr. Irvine. The strange point about the matter is that she is said to have been a "heathen" woman. It, is however, quite possible that the ladies of the Kashtwāṛ family adhered to the old faith, although the Raja had become a Muslim.

Raja Tegh Singh, the last ruling chief of Kashtwāṛ, though himself a Muhammadan, entertained the services of a purohit, or family priest, and even issued a grant of land to him; and it is probable that this custom had continued unbroken in the family in the time of his predecessors.

Kirat Singh had a long reign of 47 years and was at last assassinated by one Krishna Padhiār, at Gulāb Bāgh. The name of the assassin shows that he belonged to the great Thākur caste, and we may assume that the crime was committed out of resentment against the Raja for abandoning the faith of his ancestors. Krishna for a time asserted control over the State, but Ināyat Ullah, son of Abdul Qāsim, at once set out for Delhi and returned with a large army. Krishna was defeated and slain and Amluk Singh, son of Kirat Singh, was installed as Raja. His name was Sa'adatmand K͟hān.

Amluk Singh, A.D. 1728.—He is said to have given Rs. 10,000 to darveshes and other mendicants and ruled uneventfully for 43 years. His sons were: Mihr Singh, Sujān Singh, Dalel Singh and Gumān Singh. There is a copper-plate title deed of this reign, dated Samvat 1785 = A.D. 1728, the year of his accession. He died in 1771.

Mihr Singh, A.D. 1771.—He bore the name of Sa'idmand K͟hān. Soon after his accession Mihr Singh began to quarrel with his brothers, and Sujān Singh left the State and went to Jammu.[1] At that time Ranjit Dev of Jammu had acquired great influence in the hills; following on the decline of the Mughal Empire and the inroads of the Afghans and Marathas into the Panjab. The province had been ceded to Ahmad Shāh Durāni in 1752 by the Emperor of Delhi, and the rise of the Sikh power added to the general disorder which prevailed. Taking advantage of this, Ranjit Dev extended his supremacy over all the hill States between the Rāvi and the Chināb, including Kashtwāṛ; and this doubtless was the reason why Sujān Singh

[1] Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 10.

sought his protection. Dalel Singh, his younger brother, retired to Chamba, in order to ask help from Raja Rāj Singh of that State.

One document says that Mihr Singh became insane soon after his accession and the government of the State was carried on by his Rani, Vilāsamāji. Mihr Singh had no son, but his Rāni soon afterwards gave birth to a daughter who was surreptitiously exchanged for the son of a potter, named Puha, born on the same day. The boy was named Prithi Singh and recognized as Mihr Singh's son, though his real parentage seems to have been generally known. Hearing of the condition of affairs the Raja of Basohli invaded Kashtwāṛ and Mihr Singh fled to Kashmir, then under Durāni rule. This may have been about 1784.

The Chamba annals[1] state that soon after Ranjit Dev's death in 1781 his son and successor, Brajrāj Dev of Jammu, conveyed the suzerainty of Bhadrawāh and Kashtwāṛ to Chamba, and on the instigation of Dalel Singh, brother of Mihr Singh, Raja Rāj Singh in 1786 sent an army under the nominal command of his son, Jit Singh, then a boy of eleven years of age, to invade Kashtwāṛ. It advanced by way of Bhadrawāh which had come under the control of Chamba in 1783-4; as proved by letters in the Chamba archives, dated 1784, owning allegiance on the part of the Raja, Fateh Pāl. It is also stated that a Bhadrawāh contingent accompanied the Chamba force to Kashtwāṛ under Bhūp Chand, brother of the Raja. On the approach of the army to Kashtwāṛ the Basohli forces retreated, carrying away as much booty as they could seize. The Chamba army then took possession of the place and encamped on the Chaugān and remained for six months. It was on this occasion that six of the beautiful Chinar trees at the south end of the Chaugān were cut down for firewood. A letter is still extant in Chamba from the commander of the force, probably to Raj Singh, stating that on the capture of the town part of it was burnt, but on receipt of fresh orders from Chamba no further damage was done.[2]

During the occupation of Kashtwāṛ, one Kundan Singh, a cadet of the Bhadrawāh family, was appointed Raja. He had previously been a refugee in Chamba and returned with the army. to Kashtwāṛ. In one letter a reference occurs to a loan of Rs. 29,000 borrowed on his account from Brajrāj Dev of Jammu, for repayment of which Rāj Singh of Chamba became security. It was soon afterwards found that Kundan Singh was plotting against Chamba and he was therefore deposed, and made a prisoner, ultimately dying in Chamba where his descendants still reside.[3]

Meanwhile Sujān Singh who was in Jammu had been exerting himself on his brother's behalf, and getting together a force of 500 men he joined Raja Mihr Singh, then probably in Kashmir. Another contingent was supplied by the Durāni governor of the valley. On their approach to Kashtwāṛ the Chamba army retired. Mihr Singh died either on the way back to Kashtwaṛ or soon after his return, and was succeeded by Sujān Singh.

Sujān Singh, A.D. 1786.—On his accession Sujān Singh is said to have visited

[1] Chamba Gaz., p. 100 (2). Chamba Museum Catal., p. 71, C. 36 and C. 38.
[2] Kundan Singh was the youngest son of Raja Sampat Pal of Bhadrawāh.
[3] Chamba Museum Catalogue, p. 70, C. 22 and C. 26.

Chamba at the invitation of the Chamba Chief. This was probably in recognition of the Chamba suzerainty which was still in force. He had a son named Ināyat Ullah Singh now grown up to manhood, who had gone with him to Jammu on his retiring from Kashtwāṛ. On his leaving Jammu in 1786 his son remained, probably as a hostage, and with him was the son of the Raja of Bhadrawāh. The Raja of Jammu commanded his officers to give them a *khilat* or dress of honour and dismiss them to their respective countries. Thereupon Ināyat-Ullah Singh replied that he would go after the Raja's death. The Raja being annoyed at the answer Ināyat Ullah Singh was sent to prison in Bhau Fort, near Jammu.

Sujān Singh's rule lasted only ten months. When he died, a party in the State placed Prithi Singh, the surreptitious son of Mihr Singh, on the *gaddi* and made him Raja. Within six months, however, he was pushed into the Chināb by Ajīt Singh, son of Gumān Singh, who then seized the State. On hearing of this, the Jammu Raja sent one of his officers, named Lāl Dev, probably a member of the Jammu ruling family, who ruled the State for two years, in a very tyrannical and oppressive manner. Impelled by his exactions the people determined to restore the rightful heir to the *gaddi*, and the Kotwāls of Sarāj and Kandi succeeded in releasing Ināyat Ullah Singh from his confinement in Bhau Fort, and brought him back to Kashtwāṛ where he was installed as Raja.

Ināyat Ullah Singh, A.D. 1788.—Soon after his accession he appointed a man named Nūr-ud-dīn to some high office in the State, possibly that of Wazir. Soon afterwards he seems to have thrown off the suzerainty of Chamba if it still existed, for we are told that he invaded Pādar and Bhadrawāh, both under Chamba, and brought back much booty in cattle and other property which he distributed among his people, who had suffered greatly from the exactions of Lāl Dev. But he in his turn was called upon to pay tribute to the Durāni governor of Kashmir, Nawab Āzād Khān, and Kashtwāṛ was threatened with invasion by a large Afghan army. On reaching the town of Shāhābād in Kashmir the Nawab sent a summons to the Raja to come and pay his respects. His ministers advised him to go and he presented himself before the governor in the Sher Garhi Palace at Srinagar, and after making his submission was allowed to return home. He was, however, ordered to keep a Vakil at Srinagar, and one Muhammad Hāfiz Ullah was deputed as his agent.

Soon after his return a conspiracy was matured against him by Gulāb Singh, his own cousin, and Nūr-ud-dīn, the official already mentioned. They gave him stupefying drugs and then persuaded him to accompany them to the Chaugān, on the pretence of taking an airing, and while engaged in bathing at Sirkot tank they attacked and killed him. Gulāb Singh then seized the State and appointed Nūr-ud-dīn as his Wazir, but their rule only lasted forty days, when the people rose against them and killed them.

Ināyat Ullah Singh's reign must have been a very short one of ten months or a year at the most.[1] A letter exists in Chamba, dated 1st Kārtik S. 65 = 13th October,

[1] Chamba Museum Catal., p. 71, C. 40.

A.D. 1889, in which his son, Tegh Singh, owns allegiance to Chamba and promises to pay Rs. 3,000 as annual tribute. This was probably in the first year of his reign.

Tegh Singh, A.D. 1889.—This Raja's full name was Muhammad Tegh Singh. He was also called Saif Ullah K͟hān. He succeeded as a minor, and one Jatojī was appointed Wazir.[1] Soon afterwards Nawab Abdullah K͟hān, the Afghan Governor of Kashmir, rebelled against Timūr Shāh Durāni and made himself independent, and at his request a large force was sent to his assistance from Kashtwāṛ, under a general named Dalipu. Timur's forces were defeated and valuable presents were given by the Nawab on the conclusion of hostilities. Tegh Singh also visited Kashmir on the occasion, probably about A.D. 1790-1.

The Raja had by this time appointed as Wazir one Lakhpat Rai, of the Thākur caste, who was fated to play an inglorious part in Kashtwāṛ history. Along with Khudā Dost, general of the Kashmir Governor, he was sent with an army to invade Bhadrawāh, which was then under the suzerainty of Chamba, but ruled by its own Raja. A force was sent from Chamba under Wazir Nathu to oppose them, but it was defeated at Basnota and Gallugarh, and Bhadrawāh was conquered and burnt. Nathu surrendered, and a sum of Rs. 20,000 was exacted and the Kashtwāṛ army then retired. On receipt of the news of victory there were great rejoicings in Kashtwāṛ, and on his return Lakhpat Rai was received with every honour and a *jagir* was bestowed upon him in Bhonjwāh, which is still in the possession of his descendants.

There is a copper-plate title deed of Tegh Singh in favour of his Hindu purohit, who, as already mentioned, was still retained in his service. It is dated S. 78 = A.D. 1802, and in the previous year, by a letter still extant, dated 12th Jeth S. 77 = A.D. 1801, the Raja had renewed his allegiance to Chamba.[2] It was perhaps in consequence of Tegh Singh's renouncement of his allegiance to Kashmir that an Afghan army invaded the country, and plundered some of the villages, after defeating the Kashtwāṛ army.

Though there is no mention of the fact in the State annals, yet a tradition exists in one branch of the Kashtwāṛ family that Tegh Singh's claim to the *gaddi* was not undisputed. It will be remembered that Gumān Singh, the youngest brother of Mihr Singh, had a son named Ajīt Singh, who ruled for a short time. His son was Fateh Singh who again had several sons, of whom Anwar Singh seems to have been the eldest. As the result of party intrigue, Tegh Singh was displaced for a short time from power and Anwar Singh put in his place. He was, however, soon removed by poison and Tegh Singh was restored. Anwar Singh's brothers then fled to Chamba, taking with them his infant son to whom was assigned a *jagir* in Himgari *pargana* by Raja Jit Singh. Of the brothers only Dalip Singh remained in Chamba, the others going to Mirpur in Jammu where their descendants still reside. The present head of the family in Chamba is Mian Autār Singh of the State Postal Department.

Till 1815 Tegh Singh's reign seems to have been uneventful. The State still continued to hold unimpaired all the territory acquired by its former rulers, from the

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1 Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 204, and Vol. II, p. 49.

2 Chamba Museum Catalogue, p. 72, C. 50.

eastern frontiers of Kāshmir to the borders of Pādar and Bhadrawāh, and from Maru-Wārdwan in the north to Rāmban and Banihāl in the south-west. [1] Mr. Forster, who travelled from Jammu to Kashmir by the Banihāl Pass in 1783, states that his way lay through Kashtwāṛ territory after crossing the Chināb. The suzerainty of Chamba probably continued till 1803, for a letter exists to this effect from Raja Jit Singh of Chamba to Raja Tegh Singh, dated 1st Jeth S. 77 = 13th May A.D. 1803.[2] In view of the unsettled conditions prevailing both on the plains and the hills at that time, we may well believe that Kashtwāṛ, sheltered by its rugged mountains, was practically independent of any foreign power, and, till close upon the time of its extinction, there was nothing to indicate that the end of this ancient principality was so near. It was the last of the Panjāb Hill States to come under the control of Ranjit Singh and among the first to suffer at his hands.

An incident now falls to be recorded which was fraught with baneful consequences to the State.

In A.D. 1811[3] Shāh Shuja of Kabul, having been driven out of his kingdom, sought a refuge in the Panjab, and was for some time entertained as a guest by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He brought with him the famous Koh-i-Nur diamond which had been in the possession of his family for three generations. As is well known, it was carried away from Delhi to Persia by Nādir Shāh in 1739. After his death the diamond came into the possession of Ahmad Shāh Durāni, one of Nādir Shāh's chief officers, and thus found its way back to Kabul and India. The Shah was at first well treated at Lahore, but Ranjit Singh was bent on having the diamond, and when other means failed he resorted to treatment of the harshest character in order to compel its surrender. A strong guard was placed on the house and Shāh Shuja was thus subjected to personal restraint and many other forms of annoyance of a very trying character. Even deprivation of food was tried, and for two days nothing was cooked in the royal kitchen. Threats of personal violence were also conveyed to him, and at length Shāh Shuja, worn out by the treatment to which he was subjected, and realizing that even his life was in danger, consented to comply with Ranjit Singh's demand. The latter came in person to receive the jewel, and both kings being seated a solemn pause ensued which lasted for an hour The Shah was then reminded of his promise, through one of his own attendants, and on a sign being given the diamond was brought in and placed on the floor midway between the two monarchs and, being then unrolled and identified, it was taken possession of by Ranjit Singh. Soon afterwards in April 1815 the Shah effected his escape at night by crawling through a drain and swimming the Ravi; and passing in the guise of a merchant through Sialkot, and Jammu, succeeded in reaching Kashtwāṛ. There he was royally entertained for two years. In 1815-6 Shāh Shuja with the help of his host raised an army of three or four thousand men for the conquest of Kashmir which was still under Afghan rule. Crossing the Marbal Pass he advanced into the valley as far as

[1] Forster's *Travels*.
[2] Chamba Museum Catalogue, p. 72, C. 50, and p. 73, C. 53.
[3] *History of the Punjab* by Muhammad Latif, p. 398 *et seq.*

Shāhābād, and was there defeated and compelled to retreat to Kashtwāṛ. Meanwhile news of his whereabouts reached the ears of Ranjit Singh and an order was sent to Tegh Singh to deliver him up. This Tegh Singh declined to do, and it being now unsafe to remain longer in Kashtwāṛ, Shāh Shuja escaped up the Maru-Wārdwan valley, crossed the high range into Suru and, travelling through Zanskar, recrossed into Kulu and in September 1816 reached Ludhiana, then the frontier station in British territory. There his descendants still reside, and the rest of his tragic story belongs to Indian history. The Raja of Kulu was fined Rs. 80,000 by Ranjit Singh for allowing the Shah to pass through his territory.

It is said [1] that Ranjit Singh entertained great resentment against Tegh Singh for not complying with his order. He was then himself making attempts on Kashmir and would not allow any one else to do so, and soon afterwards commanded Gulāb Singh of Jammu to conquer Kashtwāṛ.

Gulāb Singh was the eldest of three brothers descended from Dhrub Dev, a former Raja of Jammu. As a young man he had quarrelled with his relative, the reigning Raja, and betook himself to Kashtwāṛ where he entered the service of Raja Tegh Singh. There he remained for some time and then went to Lahore, about 1810-12, and obtained a post in the army of Ranjit Singh. He was employed by the Maharaja chiefly in quelling disturbances in the Jammu hills. His headquarters were thus in Jammu, whence the reigning Raja had been expelled by the Sikhs in 1816.

Vigne [2] states that on receiving the Maharaja's orders Gulāb Singh sent a false message of warning to Tegh Singh, informing him that Ranjit Singh was about to invade the State. Tegh Singh made preparations for resistance and wrote to Gulāb Singh that he had done so. On this Gulāb Singh had a forged letter prepared, containing an invitation to Ranjit Singh from the Wazir, Lakhpat Rai, and the chief men in the State, to invade Kashtwāṛ. This he sent to Tegh Singh and asked him how he could talk of resistance when his own officials were unfaithful to him. It is said that Tegh Singh had a hakím who taught him to indulge in noxious drugs which made him suspicious. Believing in the genuineness of the letter he determined to assassinate the Wazir, and on his appearance in Darbar next morning he was set upon by two soldiers and severely wounded.

The Raja then to screen himself disowned the deed and had the two soldiers put to death. The Wazir, however, was not deceived and on his recovery asked leave to go to his *jāgīr* in Bhonjwāh for change of air, and then escaped to Bhadrawāh and went to Jammu. There he entered the service of Gulāb Singh and pointed out to him how easily Kashtwāṛ could be conquered.

Tegh Singh also wrote to Gulāb Singh, and in reply he was advised to leave his army and come to Jammu alone, under a promise of an introduction to the Maharaja, who would secure him in possession of his dominions. Tegh Singh was completely

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[1] *Jammu and Kashmir*, by Drew, p. 121.

[2] Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 181-2. Vigne was the first European to visit Kashtwār. This was in 1838.

deceived and went to Doda, where he was met by Gulāb Singh, who had him seized and sent to Jammu, where he was detained a prisoner. Meantime, in 1820, Gulāb Singh took possession of the State without any resistance. On being liberated Tegh Singh went to Lahore to appeal to Ranjit Singh. He appeared in Darbar during the Holi and the Sikh Sirdars pretended to intercede for him. Ranjit Singh promised to reinstate him, but the promise was never fulfilled, and he died in 1823 of poison administered by his own servant.

Tegh Singh had three sons, named Jaimal Singh, Zorāwar Singh and [1] Dilāwar Singh. The two elder sons were with him at the time of his death, and Vigne says that Zorāwar Singh joined Shāh Shuja's unsuccessful expedition against Kabul in 1834. He is said to have afterwards visited Kashtwāṛ in disguise but was recognized and imprisoned in Bhau Fort. On his release he became a Christian and was baptized in Ludhiana, after which he wandered about for many years as a *faqir*: dying childless in 1870. His elder brother Jaimal Singh also died without issue, and the pension assigned to the family was then made over to Dilāwar Singh, whose descendants reside in Tilokpur, near Kotla in the Kangra District. As already mentioned, collateral branches live in Chamba and Jammu.

Wazir Lakhpat held high office under Gulāb Singh, and was killed at Munshi Bagh, near Srinagar, when in 1846 Kashmir was occupied by Gulāb Singh's troops, on the transfer of the country to him by the British Government. His descendants still reside in Bhonjwāh and Bhadrawāh in the enjoyment of *jagirs*, and the family has provided many able servants to the Kashmir State. One other circumstance associated with Kashtwāṛ may be noted before closing this paper. Soon after the expulsion of the old rulers Gulāb Singh appointed Zorāwar Singh Kahlurea, one of his ablest officers, to the charge of the State. Zorāwar Singh was an illegitimate son of the Raja of Kahlur or Bilāspur, who had entered Gulāb Singh's service. He was a man of great natural ability, a brave soldier, and eager to advance the interests of his master to whom he was absolutely faithful.[2] Some years after taking over the government of Kashtwāṛ he conceived the design of conquering Ladākh or Western Tibet, then under the rule of its own Rajas who resided at Leh. Gulāb Singh approved of the project, but before entering upon it he consulted the British Government. As the expedition was a private concern of Gulāb Singh's it could not advance through Kashmir which was then in the hands of the Sikhs. A force of 10,000 men was therefore assembled in Kashtwāṛ in 1834 and the advance was made by the Maru-Wārdwan valley, and across the Western Himālaya to Suru. The Tibetans made a feeble resistance and the country was conquered. Two years later Padar in Chamba territory was also annexed by Zorāwar Singh, and in 1840 Baltistan or Little Tibet came under the sway of the Dogras. Zorāwar Singh then formed the bold design of conquering Tibet proper. He left Leh in the late autumn of 1841 with an army of 10,000 men, but the winter set in and when in December they came into conflict with

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[1] Dilāwar Singh was the son of a concubine.

[2] *Western Tibet* by Francké. Chaps XII, XIII—XIV.

the Tibetans, the men were so benumbed with cold that they easily succumbed. Zorāwar Singh was killed, fighting bravely as was his wont, and his force was almost annihilated.

LITERATURE.

Rājataraṅgini.
Ferishta. Brigg's translation.
Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri.
Akbarnāma.
Vigne's *Travels.*
Jammu and Kashmir, by Drew.
Western Tibet, by Francké.
Forster's *Travels.*
History of the Punjab, by Muhammad Latif.
Chamba Gazetteer.
Mandi and Suket Gazetteer.
Simla Gazetteer.

CORRIGENDA: Vol III, No. 2, p. 95, line 2, *for* "Khanchan Sain, the eleventh" *read* "Bān Sain, the twelfth"; and in line 4 *read* "and founded Bhiuli, near Mandi," *for* "and founded the town of Mandi."

The "Kohinoor" of 1851.

By PANDIT SHEO NARAIN, R.B.

I am much indebted to Munshi Mahbub Alam for the loan of a file of the *Kohinoor* newspaper for 1851 which though partially scorched fortunately escaped when his house was set on fire by some unknown miscreant who knew little that he was destroying valuable historical material in the shape of rare manuscripts and books which the Munshi Sahib had collected during the long course of his journalistic career.

A survey of the year's events in the *Kohinoor* of 1851 is full of interest, and I am tempted to cull some interesting pieces of information which I think deserve preservation in English.

Probably the *Kohinoor* was the earliest Urdu newspaper in Lahore. I have not been able to ascertain the exact month or the year of its birth. From the thankful acknowledgment of subscriptions for the year 1850, as well as from a sarcastic chronogram by an envious rival which I reproduce below, it may be safe to fix its birth at some period towards the end of 1849 and the beginning of 1850. The chronogram is contained in the last couplet preceded by half a dozen similar sarcastic verses.

ایک لاله جی هوئے تاریخ سے یوں شعله زن
واه واه اس آتش گلخن سے چمکا کوهِ نور

(*Sambat* 1906).

Ek Lāla jí húe tārīkh se yūṇ shula zan
Wāh wāh is ātish-i-gulkhun se chamkā koh-i-nūr.

The veiled taunt is that the proprietor is compared to a Bharbhūnja, a parcher of grain, who made the *Kohinoor* shine forth from his furnace. The *Kohinoor* retorted in rather objectionable language verging on indecency, which I omit.

It is commonly known that Munshi Newal Kishore, a man of great enterprise, edited the *Kohinoor* for some years. It was here that he conceived the idea of starting his own press at Lucknow. The service rendered by the celebrated Newal Kishore press to Oriental literature in India, nay in Asia and Africa, is too well known to require detailed mention.

A comparison of the service rendered by the early vernacular press with what it is rendering now is outside the scope of this paper. A general idea of what a vernacular newspaper was like in its primitive condition in 1851 is not however devoid of interest.

The *Kohinoor* in 1851 consisted of 8 pages of 12×8 inches. No editorial leaders, or comments, no discussion of any current topics, political or others, no advertisements

except about some new book in vernacular; certainly no trace whatever of indecent advertisement of medicines or of objectionable literature, with which some of our present-day vernacular newspapers teem; no religious controversies or party politics. It was literally a newspaper, containing rules, acts, and notifications copied from the Government Gazette issued by the *Amīr-i-kabīr*, *Nawab* Governor General Hind Bahadur as His Excellency's rank was then described in Urdu; some news of the world taken from English newspapers, some statistics, some news from various parts of India furnished by newspapers, provincial and local news, interspersed occasionally by some query and an answer on some literary subject, some casual remark off and on about local affairs. Here and there an appreciative note about the British Administration in the province coupled with some suggestions. It seems however that rivalry between the *Kohinoor* and another local print, to be mentioned presently, evoked rather indecent taunts which in those days passed for pleasantry. This rival newspaper bore the name of *Daryā-i-nūr* managed by Shah-Sawār-ud-Dīn, grandson of Faqīr Azīz-ud-Dīn (Ranjit Singh's Minister). When announcing his death on the 12th February, 1851, the *Kohinoor* tells us that in that year some misfortunes had befallen the faqir family, hence the ownership of a printing press began to be regarded as inauspicious. It is further stated that the well-known Jalla Misser, who had started a printing press in Ranjit Singh's time, met with some ill luck, with the result that the Sikh Government caused the stones to be smashed and the wooden gear of the press to be burnt. But Munshi Harsukh Rai, the proprietor of the *Kohinoor*, did not view things in that way. His paper had a long spell of journalistic respectability.

It seems that the idea of popularizing Panjābi literature is not a recent one. The *Kohinoor* announced the issue of a newspaper which it named *The Punjabee Harkāra* to be issued in the Panjābi language written in Gurmukhi characters with a transliteration of the same in Persian characters. This was the first attempt to convey current news to the masses through the medium of the *lingua franca* of the province. Whether the project was actually carried out or not I have not been able to ascertain.

During my reading of the year's file I noticed references to the following Urdu contemporaries of the *Kohinoor*. The names are fantastic and some of them classical

1.	اخبار هرکاره	*Akhbar Harkara*	Calcutta.
2.	مراة الاخبار	*Mirat-ul-Akhbar*	Calcutta.
3.	مرات الخيال	*Mirat-ul-Khiyal*	Calcutta.
4.	انجمن آرا	*Anjuman Ara*	Calcutta.
5.	مجمع الاخبار	*Majma-ul-Akhbar*	Bombay.
6.	اردو اخبار	*Urdu Akhbar*	Delhi.
7.	قرآن السعدين	*Quran-ul-sadain*	Delhi.
8.	عمدة الاخبار	*Umda-tul-Akhbar*	Delhi.
9.	دهلي گزٹ	*Delhi Gazette*	Delhi.
10.	اخبار الحقائق	*Akhbar Alhaqaiq*	Agra.
11.	زبدة الاخبار	*Zubda-tul-Akhbar*	Agra.
12.	جام جهان نما	*Jam-i-Jehan-Numa*	Meerut.

13.	باغ و بہار	*Bagh-o-Bahar*	Benares.
14.	گزٹ بنارس	*Gazette Benares*	
15.	عمدة الاخبار	*Umda-tul-Akhbar*	Bareilly.
16.	رياض الاخبار	*Riaz-ul-Akhbar*	Sialkot.
17.	دریائے نور	*Darya-i-noor*	Lahore.
18.	شملہ اخبار	*Simla Akhbar*	Simla.

References are also to be found of a printing press, Nur-ul-Alanur نور الانور, at Ludhiana and another of the same name at Bhera. Whether these printing presses also issued any newspapers does not appear. Of the newspapers above mentioned *Jam-i-Jehan-Numa* of Meerut catered for its readers with the weekly instalments of Faizi's Persian Translation of Mahabharat. One would hardly have thought that Simla would have been able to pride itself on having a newspaper in those days. At present unfortunately none exists there. Bhera, that little place which has produced so many men of talent and enterprise, stands in bold relief as conducting a printing press. Of the Native States in this province we read of only one Chief who took a keen interest in vernacular literature, and that was the Raja of Kapurthala (Raja Nihal Singh). It is said of him that he started a printing press in his State. A correspondent under a name represented by a numeral suggested several improvements to encourage vernacular translations, etc.

Outside the Panjab another Chief, the Maharaja of Indore, is mentioned as having similarly encouraged vernacular literature by starting a printing press in his State, and a correspondent regrets that the King of Oudh had so unwisely closed the one he had started in his dominions.

I have mentioned in the list of the *Kohinoor's* Urdu contemporaries a Calcutta paper, *Akhbar Harkāra.* I found in the Encyclopædia Britannica a note to the effect that the *Harkaru* as it is spelt there and another newspaper *The Indian Gazette* were combined under the new name *Indian Daily News* with the old name appended (XIX 566, Ency. Brit.).

It appears that Garcin de Tassy, when opening his annual course of lectures on the Hindustani language, enumerated and gave some interesting details concerning twenty-seven journals of all sorts in Hindustani. In 1860 he made mention of seventeen additional ones, one of which alone reached a sale of 4000 (XIX 566, Ency. Brit.). I have not been able to ascertain whether the *Kohinoor* or any of its contemporaries were described by him as to their contents or literary merits.

I have mentioned in the above list the *Delhi Gazette.* This was probably an English newspaper; whether there was a vernacular print of the same name I cannot say.

Let us begin with the weather. The season after the monsoon rains was stated to be terribly unhealthy, so much so that, the whole town being laid up with malarial fever, the local Hakims left Lahore. The press hands were stated to be totally incapacitated for work. In order to improve the sanitary conditions, we read of public latrines being constructed outside each gate of Lahore. It was first stated

that from each person making use of them, a charge of one *damri* would be made. But this statement was corrected later. This is the beginning of sanitary reforms in our town.

Lahore witnessed an eclipse of the moon on the 17th January, followed by a severe earthquake, the astrologers foreboding evil from the two events in the shape of inundations in the rivers and also turbulence in the West. There was another severe earthquake in February which the people thought was the severest in living memory.

The harvests and rates of grains are always mentioned for the information of the public. Comparisons of rates in the N.-W. Provinces with those prevailing in Lahore are frequently made in tabular statements, for instance it is stated that wheat was sold at the rate of from 35 seers to a maund and a half per rupee and ghee at the rate of 2 seers and a half at Delhi and similarly at other towns in N.-W. Provinces, while at Lahore wheat was sold in January 1850 at the rate of 28 seers. It is also mentioned that in the year preceding, it was considerably below that rate, probably I presume owing to the unsettled state of the country or possibly to a bad harvest in that year. Abolition of octroi is however recommended as likely to cheapen food stuffs appreciably. It may be mentioned here that a grain market was constructed outside the Delhi gate. An old dilapidated serai in the vicinity was converted into an enclosure for the sale of grain. It was named after the Deputy Commissioner, Major MacGregor.

To the curious it will be interesting to know that Lahore began to enjoy the luxury of mineral waters in March, 1851, when a Delhi merchant, one Nabi Bakhsh, started a factory for aerated waters. It is said in the advertisement along with the rates that the sweet water (lemonade) assists digestion, while people accustomed to liquor will find a wholesome diluter in soda water. It is also announced, to remove any possible prejudice among Muhammadan customers, that the manufacturer is a Muhammadan from Calcutta. Of course Hindus were not among those expected to touch them.

The present Zoo may trace its origin to an Orang-outang found in one of Ranjit Singh's gardens and afterwards removed by a European gentleman to his own bungalow. The ape was rather an interesting creature, revelling in drink and smoke and capable of a great many mischievous tricks which amused boys. It is stated that he enjoyed bhang too.

With regard to education, the establishment of schools in the town and in the adjoining district of Amritsar is reported. Throughout the year there are contributions on education by a correspondent hailing from Kapurthala, who expatiates on the utility for the people of education in Eastern and Western literatures. On the restoration of peace and order, this desire was obviously perfectly natural. The correspondent hardly anticipated that half a century later education would be so widespread as to overflow colleges and schools.

With regard to the judicial administration, it is noted that the abolition of vakils in the courts was much deprecated. These gentlemen were probably some sort of

special agents or mukhtars who with the permission of the courts conducted cases for ignorant litigants—an institution which may be traced in all known periods of Indian History. The manner in which retention of the system of vakils is advocated shows a great deal of modernity. It is said of them that they are like hedges round a road which an administration always needs to prevent vagaries and arbitrary transgressions by officers presiding in the courts. Very likely the order of abolition was only temporary, in order that the profession of law might be placed eventually on a better basis. From the report of certain notes of observation and directions by the Commissioner of Lahore on the inspection of the Vernacular and English offices of the Deputy Commissioner, it seems that he complained of arrears of civil cases some of which had been submitted to the decision of the elders called Panches who were enjoined not to leave the court before finishing the day's work assigned to them. The English office, which is stated to be located somewhere in the town and which was in charge of Mr. Penn, probably the self-same Mr. Penn who afterwards became a Judge of the Small Cause Court at Jalandar in the sixties, was pronounced not to be equal in efficiency and order to other similar offices in the mufassil. It was particularly directed that this should be put in order. Division of labour among the clerks, then called *kiranīs*, was suggested in order to ensure method and despatch in routine work. The Legislature was then busy with enacting laws, and with a view to make provision for future necessities and contingencies of trade and other matters, various acts and regulations were passed, translations of which in Urdu were reproduced in the *Kohinoor*; for example Act No. 27 of 1850 to incorporate Joint Stock Companies and the like.

Explorations were conducted during the year to discover mines, etc. Credit is given to one Colonel Hawlings, Deputy Commissioner of Leiah, for his labours in that field. The state of crime cannot be very well gathered. According to the statistics of 1850 one hundred and eleven offenders were hanged and ninety-eight transported during the year by order of the Board. Very likely the convicts were not offenders of the usual type, most of them must have been brigands or dacoits who taking advantage of the unsettled state of the country must have committed depredations accompanied by murders; otherwise one would not have expected such high figures for capital sentences in one year. The Kotwal of the town, Pandit Ram Narain, is almost every month congratulated on his successful suppression of crime and detection of offenders. His name has come down to the citizens of the town as a terror-striking Kotwal. I may here mention that his grand-nephew, Major Atal, I.M.S., a few months ago, laid down his life in the service of his Emperor and country.

As regards the general administration, Diwan Dina Nath, who was created a Raja by the British Government, is reported to have rendered exceptional service. It is said that in the open Durbar of the Governor General, it was announced by Col. Sir Henry Lawrence at the command of His Excellency the Governor General that the British Government was much indebted to him for very valuable aid he had rendered in helping and facilitating inquiries into innumerable matters connected with the administration regarding which reliable and accurate information was required. He is stated to have answered within a short time three thousand Robkars

and Murasalas. He was in recognition of his services presented with a khillat of 17 Parchas and two purses of cash.

Prince Dalip Singh's leanings towards Christianity and the consequent revulsion of the feelings of Sikhs towards him are also reported but without any comment. The valuable articles and other belongings of the Sikh Durbar are advertised for auction, a full list of which is given not only in the columns of the *Kohinoor* but, it seems, also in other papers outside the province. News of sales of them from time to time are also published. Of the articles sold by auction particular mention is made of a stylish carriage in which the 'Lion of the Panjab' used to appear on the occasion of the annual festival of Dassahra, and of another equipage of his called a Rath which it is stated was sumptuously embellished. By way of curiosity is mentioned a cooking degcha of silver weighing a maund and a half.

The history of the Kohinoor diamond which probably suggested the name of the newspaper (its compeer the Daryā-i-nūr, another big diamond owned by the King of Persia, probably suggesting the name of its rival newspaper) occupies some columns. A correspondent claimed that it was a very ancient jewel, tracing back its possession by Hindu kings as far back as Yudhishthira of the ancient Hindu period. The *Simla Akhbar*, dated 1st May, 1849, takes the writer to task by calling this account an absolute myth. He ventures to correct the error and tells his readers that it was found in the mine of Conore on the banks of the Godavery River in Hyderabad territory. Mir Jumla obtained it and presented it to the Emperor Shah Jahan. It then weighed 319 rattis. A European jeweller at the Emperor's court valued it at 78 lakhs.

We have seen that Raja Nihal Sing of Kapurthala was a great encourager of literature. He had a competent astronomer, Lala Bulloo Mal, in his court who prepared an astronomical globe which he had named *Ajaib-i-Nihāl* after the name of his illustrious master, for presentation to Her Majesty the Queen, with a request that it might be exhibited in the Industrial Exhibition in 1851 in London. His merit is recognised by his master and an appreciative *sanād* is granted to him which is also reproduced verbatim.

Of all the local news the most interesting is the formation of a Society on the 16th May, 1851, named The Horti-agricultural Society, composed of a number of officials and a few non-official Raises of Lahore. One Mr. Cope, Manager of the *Lahore Chronicle*, was its first Secretary. The objects of the Society were to improve floriculture and import exotic fruit, saplings, shady trees and vegetable seeds, as well as generally to improve agriculture on a scientific basis. Some land was of course required for the purpose. The Society requested the Government to hand over to it the Badami Bagh and the land of the present Golbagh, which was in those days called Gorābagh, a name which it received owing to its vicinity to a European garrison close by, which was afterwards removed to Mian Mir Cantonment barracks then in course of construction. Needless to say the Government readily acceded to the request. I do not fancy that the present gardens round Lahore outside the city walls existed in Sikh period. I should not be surprised if they were the result of the Society's efforts

to improve the surroundings of the town. The proceedings of the Society were issued in Urdu. Very likely the present Lawrence garden was the work of this useful Society.

Let us now take leave of local matters and turn to some mufassil news. They are of a very ordinary nature, e.g. transfers of officers, movements of troops, sensational cases in court and the like. One of them is of some interest showing the relations between high English officials and their subordinate Indian officials. On the occasion of H. E. the Governor General's visit to Gujrat we read that the Commissioner Mr. Thornton and the two Lawrences paid a visit to a Deputy Collector, Sayed Hadi Hossain, on the 9th January, 1851, at his residence, and that he conversed with his superior officers in English. As a mere boy I remember having seen this venerable gentleman when he was an Extra Assistant Commissioner at Jalandar in the seventies. He was a cultured gentleman from Delhi possessing dignity and deportment typical of an accomplished Indian gentleman of the good old days. He richly deserved, from the impression I have of him, the honour displayed towards him. Syed Abid Hussain, who retired some years ago from the Provincial Judicial Service, is this gentleman's son.

We hear of the death of a universally revered saint, Khawāja Shah Suleman, at Sanghur on the 7th Safar ul-Muzaffar. His death is deplored in an obituary notice in highest reverential terms. The spirit of the age is manifest from the words chosen to announce his death, for instance it is regretted that the world will be the poorer by his death. Speaking of his communion with the Divine Essence it is said that when he was on the point of death he muttered the line

آهن که به پارس آشنا شد * فی الفور بصورتِ طلا شد

(A piece of steel which touches Paras, the proverbial philosopher's stone, is instantly transmuted into gold).

Among the items of mufassil news an incident reflecting great credit on the discipline of the British Army cannot be omitted. Two British soldiers were missing from the Gobindgarh fort at Amritsar. The Officer Commanding had issued an order to arrest them the moment they passed the Logar gate. When they passed that gate one of them while being laid hold of according to the above order struck down with a sword one Colonel Jewan Singh, Commandant of the Suraj Mukhi Paltan, also called the *Sher dil* Regiment. This officer had rendered very valuable services. Naturally the murder of such an officer was viewed with great indignation by the military authorities as well as others. A court martial was held, the culprit was declared guilty and condemned to death. The court however recommended him for mercy on the ground of his being the worse for liquor at the time of the murder. The Commander-in-Chief, however, did not endorse the recommendation and H.E. the Governor-General positively declined to listen to any appeal for mercy, on the contrary he remarked that he wanted to make an example of the man in the interest of the discipline of the Army.

As we have already observed, the *Kohinoor* was literally a newspaper. It con-

tained news not only from all parts of the Panjab, but from all parts of India as well as news of foreign countries. No useful purpose would be served were I to encumber this paper with items of ordinary news possessing no particular interest. To the curious perhaps it may sound incredible that at Calcutta one Mr. Count promised to ascend in a balloon. We are not told whether the feat was accomplished, or with what result.

As for the news from Southern India, it seems equally incredible that two mercantile communities should engage in riot on a religious matter. We are told that in that year some Parsis embraced Islam, and their conversion incensed the Parsi community. A Parsi newspaper published a cartoon intending to hurt the religious feelings of Muhammadans. Retort took a form which directly resulted in a riot. A new convert was taken to a mosque with a flourish of trumpets in a regular procession. This thoroughly exasperated the Parsi community. Both sides got out of hand, a riot ensued accompanied with some loss of life, and considerable loss of property.

It would not be out of place here to mention the revenues of British India in that year:—

Bengal	yielded	10	karor	72	lacs.
Agra	,,	5	,,	83	,,
Madras	,,	5	,,	15	,,
Bombay	,,	3	,,	94	,,
Panjab	,,	2	,,	3	,,

Rough total 27 karors sixty-eight lacs odd thousands. The present revenues have more than quadrupled themselves in the last fifty years.

Leaving Indian news let us turn to foreign news. We read a lot of stray European news. It is no use copying any except an account of Egypt, a country which interests us in these days. It is stated that the relations between the Khadive and the Sultan were not what might be desired and that nothing short of intercession by the French or the English Government would restore mutual cordiality between them. The state of Egypt in those days, as seen through Indian eyes, is not devoid of historic interest, and I cannot resist the temptation of giving here in an abridged form an account of the country from an Indian Mussalman's observations.

Nawab Pir Ibrahim Khan, Native agent of Bahawalpur, accompanied by his private secretary, one Sayed Abdulla, took a trip to England on board the ship "'Feroz.'" The party halted at Cairo and the secretary contributed in Urdu an account of his visit to the land of the Pharaohs. He begins by giving us a rather graphic description of his boat. To an Indian who had not travelled abroad and who had never been to sea before, the most interesting object was the boat itself. Its forty cabins or *hujras* as he calls them occupied by European ladies and gentlemen, their mode of dining at the table, their partaking of the sumptuous dishes, their amusements on the deck and their social life on board altogether created a vivid impression on the mind of an Indian, who viewed all he saw with a considerable amount of curious amazement. The whole scene was quite novel to him who had never before done

more than cross a river in a clumsy Indian boat. On reaching Egypt he tells us that the party was very hospitably treated by Abbas Pacha. It is said that on the first introduction conversation turned on the attitude of the Panjabis to the British annexation of the Panjab, an event then quite recent. The Pir said that the people hailed it with satisfaction. By way of justification he added that the relation between the British and Maharaja Ranjit Singh had been friendly and continued so up to the death of Maharaja Sher Singh, but when the Sikhs pretending to be the successors of the Mughals began to entertain designs to capture the government of Delhi, the British Government acting more in self-defence than for love of conquest thought it best to annex the country before the Sikhs could advance beyond the Panjab. The annexation made life and property secure, law and order reigned supreme and anarchy became a thing of the past. Speaking particularly of the Muhammadan population, he said the annexation relieved them of Sikh supremacy, one result of which was that they were at liberty to use a sort of meat prohibited by the Sikhs.

The party was shown the royal palaces which quite dazzled the Indian travellers. They had not seen anything like it in the Panjab. The sight of five hundred Georgian, Italian, and French female slaves draped and attired in the most fantastic fashions and decorated with the choicest jewels was to them a spectacle more like a Romance in the "Arabian Nights" than anything approaching reality. The splendour of the palatial buildings in point of sumptuous furniture and architectural embellishments was no less attractive and fascinating, the cost of which our travellers guessed to be close on five crores. The palaces and their contents rich in oriental gorgeousness are very eloquently described. Of course they saw the pyramids and the other places of note for which the land of the Pharaohs is known. Every student of Persian literature is familiar with the love tale of Yusuf and Zulaikha whom Jami has immortalised. The party was shown what local tradition fixed as the site of the palace where Joseph was kept in captivity, particularly the well where that handsomest of mortals was incarcerated by Zulaikha. The whole place was in ruins, the only vestige of the old place worth mentioning was the well itself. It then contained a pump to draw drinking water.

The conditions of the country had always necessitated schemes of water-works for drinking and irrigation purposes from the remotest times. These our travellers saw in an improved condition. They also saw a local industry very highly developed, namely a sugar factory where refined sugar was manufactured. I should not be surprised if our current word *misri* came into use in India from the name given to refined sugar imported from Egypt (Misr).

Education does not seem to have been neglected—a school is mentioned where 1600 scholars received instruction, several of them at State expense, and 400 teachers taught various subjects.

One cannot say how far the following figures are correctly given, nor the area covered by them. We are told that the population was roughly 20 lacs as follows :—

Moslems	17 lacs.
White female slaves	70 thousand.
White male slaves	1 lac 90 thousand.
Coloured male and female slaves ..	4 lacs.

Speaking of the unequal treatment of these, we are told that a *jazia* was levied from Christians and Jews, whose population as free subjects is however not given. It is frankly admitted that foreigners laboured under several disadvantages. The Secretary went to see a slave-house to satisfy his curiosity. He had been told that marriage with slave girls in legal form was rare. Some voluptuaries who could afford it bought slave girls and introduced them in their seraglios amidst their regularly married wives of their own caste. According to him there were several marts and regular houses for traffic in human flesh. He was struck with horror when he saw that the unfortunate human commodity was exhibited and exposed like cattle, the general frame of the body, limbs, the teeth and the muscle being fully exhibited for examination by the customer; needless to say he returned with a revulsion of feeling, of course without making a bargain, as he says, he originally never intended. It is obvious that the slave traffic was in full swing in the fifties in that country.

Provisions are said to be abundant and therefore cheap—eggs at 400 and chickens at 40 for a rupee could be easily procured. The climate is described to be very salubrious, the country peaceful, crime rare and the administration generally satisfactory. To a casual visitor every administration often appears successful and smooth. We are told that Egyptian Muhammadans looked down upon the Brahmans as idolators (they had probably heard of them as such only) nor had they a very high opinion of Indian Mussalmans. Consequently we are told, in so many words, that our travellers in order to court favour with their hosts represented themselves as of Afghan and Persian descent respectively. While on the one hand Indian Muhammadans were poorly thought of, on the other hand drink was found to be openly indulged in, a habit contracted in frequent social relations with non-Moslems and tolerated it is said, more or less, by even the Kadīs. Interdining with foreigners was not viewed with disapprobation, but purdah was observed and women did not appear in public without the veil.

Our traveller was however much gratified to learn that Islam as a proselytising religion was becoming very popular and that a number of Christians were embracing the Muhammadan faith. Of conversions of Christians one of note was that of Mr. Rickets, an agent of the East India Company. Some ten years before he had taken to himself a wife of Arab blood who bore him several children. He assumed the Muhammadan name of Abdulla, and received a jagir and a title from the Egyptian Government. This dignitary told our traveller that he had a cousin in India who was the British Resident at Lucknow and a brother in the Panjab Civil Service, and that four of his brothers were in the British Army.

Here ends our account of the *Kohinoor* of 1851. Its proprietor was Munshi Harsukh Rai, a Kayasth and a native of Sikandarabad in the N.W.P. He was a

man of much public spirit, and was for a long time a member of the Municipal Committee, Lahore, his name being on the list of Raises of Lahore. (Latifi, Lahore, pp. 327, 341). After his death, which occurred in 1890, the paper was continued by his adopted son. I have not been able to ascertain in what year it ceased to exist.

In the seventies when I was a student in the Mission School of Jalandar I was myself a contributor to its columns.

In the eighties it was made bilingual, the translation from Urdu into English being done by Mian Gul Muhammad, at present I believe Naib Mir Munshi in the Panjab Secretariat. That the paper was run on cosmopolitan lines can be inferred from the fact that at times Muhammadans and Native Christians were also its editors, for instance Nadir Ali Shah, Taj-ud-Din, Mirza Mowahed, Muharram Ali Chishti, Mr. Abdulla and others, some of whom after severing their connection with it started newspapers of their own.

We have seen that the editor of the *Lahore Chronicle* was the Secretary of the Horticultural Society. This English journal was started in 1849 by Muhammad Azim, father of our Panjab historian, Sayed Muhammad Latif. In 1856 he started at Lahore *The Punjabee*, a tri-weekly English newspaper which collapsed after some years, but his vernacular *Punjabee* flourished until 1890. Sir Charles Aitchison when describing the Urdu *Punjabee* as the earliest vernacular newspaper in the province was not precise. It was the *Kohinoor*, started six years before the *Punjabee*, which was the earliest vernacular newspaper in the Panjab.[1]

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1 We shall soon have a detailed history of the Vernacular Press to be compiled by Mr. Sanyial of the Imperial Record Department.

Pahul (Sikh baptism).

By PANDIT SHEO NARAIN, R.B.

When reading an account of the ceremony of initiation into the Sikh religion, called "Pahul", I was struck by the pecu'iarity of its ritual. I set myself to find an exact parallel in other foreign systems, but in vain. A comparative study of various forms of baptism leads one to the conclusion that water has always played an important part not only as a cleanser of physical impurities, but also as a spiritual purifier. Some form or other of the rite of baptism has been practised from the remotest times. It is difficult to say whether one nation has borrowed it from another. Some rites can be shown to have been borrowed either wholly or in a modified form by some nations from others. Yet many rites have arisen from similar psychological conditions in different nations. What is peculiar in the Sikh initiation is the employment of a sword or a dagger and the mixture of sugar in water. With regard to water, almost all ancient philosophers regarded water as the origin of all things, for instance, Aphrodite, Vishnu, and many other deities were believed to have sprung from water. Rivers, lakes, and the sea are up to the present moment worshipped. We know, further, that steel has enjoyed a very high dignity amongst ancient races. Major General Furlong, in his "Faiths of Man" (Vol. III, p. 388), says that swords were actually worshipped by Scythians and Turanian nomads.[1] In Syria the Maronites hold a drawn sword over the door as the bride enters her new home. In Travancore, if we believe the story, a maiden is married, in the absence of a suitable husband, to a sword. Superstition in some tribes has created a soul in a sword, who believed that it springs from its sheath and slays foes of its own accord.

The dagger for stirring the sherbet can be explained by the circumstance that the tenth Guru introduced it with the object of instilling into his followers a military spirit. The admixture of sugar is, however, not to be found in any other system of initiation. I shall show presently the origin of its introduction. I have not witnessed the administration of *Pahul* myself, but a Sikh friend of mine assures me that the ceremony is very impressive.

Cunningham in his History of the Sikhs, page 76, gives the following account of the ceremony :

"Sikhs are not ordinarily initiated until they reach the age of discrimination and remembrance, or not before they are seven years of age, or sometimes not until they have attained to manhood. But there is no authoritative rule on the subject, nor is there any declaratory ceremonial of detail which can be followed. The essentials are that five Sikhs at least should be assembled, and it is generally arranged that one of

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[1] Still the case in Rajputana [ED.].

the number is of some religious repute. Some sugar and water are stirred together in a vessel of any kind, commonly with a two-edged dagger; but any iron weapon will answer. The novitiate stands with his hands joined in an attitude of humility or supplication, and he repeats after the elder or minister the main articles of his faith. Some of the water is sprinkled on his face and person; he drinks the remainder, and exclaims 'Hail Guru', and the ceremony concludes with an injunction that he be true to God, and to his duty as a Sikh. For details of particular modes followed, see Forster (Travels, I, 307), Malcolm (Sketch, p. 182); and Prinsep's edition of Murray's Life of Runjeet Singh (p. 217) where an Indian compiler is quoted."

"The original practice of using the water in which the feet of a Sikh had been washed was soon abandoned, and the subsequent custom of touching the water with the toe seems now almost wholly forgotten. The first rule was perhaps instituted to denote the humbleness of spirit of the disciples, or both it and the second practice may have originated in that feeling of the Hindus which attaches virtue to water in which the thumb of a Brahmin has been dipped. It seems in every way probable that Govind substituted the dagger for the foot or the toe, thus giving further pre-eminence to his emblematic iron."

"Women are not usually, but they are sometimes, initiated in form as professor of the Sikh faith. In mingling the sugar and water for women, a one-edged, and not a two-edged, dagger is used."

This account given by Cunningham is rather brief. A Sikh friend of mine, Sardar Sewa Ram Singh, an authority on Sikh theology, has given me some further details which I have utilized in the following description:—

The rite of *Pahul* among the Sikhs (derived from *paw*=foot and *hal*=shaken or stirred) orginated with that universally revered saint, Guru Nanak. It underwent a slight change in Guru Arjan's time and the extant form, perhaps modified, is the one enjoined by the last Guru, the renowned Gobind Singh.

In Nanak's time, the novice had to spend his novitiate for some time in the service of the Guru of his order, and when a certain degree of self-abnegation was observable in him, he was allowed to enter the fold.

Bhai Kahan Singh in his valuable work Guru-Mat-Sudhakar (p. 163) says:—

"The administration of *Charan-Amrit* was the cardinal basis of the Sikh creed. It destroyed all pride of caste. Not only was the water touched by one of the toes of the Guru drunk, but also water touched with the feet of other devout Sikhs. When a Brahman, for instance, drank water touched by the feet of a Sudra Sikh, how could pride of caste survive thereafter."

The ceremony was simple. A basin of water was brought, in which a toe of the Guru was washed, and in the presence of the Guru, who presided at the ceremony, the water was drunk by the novice. Practice of humility, charity, service was inculcated by the Guru. The novice could repeat the drinking of water in a similar way for his benefit.

Bhai Gurdas, one of the greatest disciples of the Guru, refers to the ceremony in one of his devotional hymns called *Vars*.

Var I.

(1) " *Suni pukar datār Prabh Guru Nanak Jag mahan pathāyā ;*
Cahran dhoe rah ras kar Charan Amrit Sikhān pilāyā,
Par Brahm Piram Brahm Kaljag andar ek dakhāyā."

'The all-merciful God heard the cry (of suffering humanity) and sent Guru Nanak into the world. He washed his feet, recited hymns and administered *Charan Amrit* to his Sikhs.'

(2) *Rānā rank brābari pairin pavana Jag vartāyā,*
Ultā khel piram dā pairān ūpar sīs newāyá.

'He declared the equality of prince and pauper and made them fall at each other's feet in the world. He reversed the old order and in practice of love, made heads stoop to feet.'

In the time of the fifth Guru, Arjan, the compiler of the Guru Granth Sahib, the ceremony was slightly modified, the name remaining the same. Instead of the Guru's toe consecrating it the water was placed under the *Munji* or *Musnid* of the Guru Granth Sahib.

The significant change, however, was introduced by Guru Gobind Singh. It may be noted here that the practice of placing water under the *Musnid* of the Granth Sahib, which was in vogue in Guru Arjan's time, still subsists in the case of the *Pahul* of Sahajdhari Sikhs though *kirpan* is also used to consecrate it.

The Pahul given to other than Sahajdháris (its name is *Khunda Pahul*) is administered in the following manner:—

A vessel of iron (no other metal is permissible) is filled with water, and sugar wafers, called *patashas*, are mixed in it. Instead of being placed underneath the *Musnid* of the Granth Sahib it is placed in front of it. Of course the Granth Sahib cannot be dispensed with, its presence is essentially necessary. The assembly must consist of five Sikhs already initiated, who must be of pure and unblemished character, in addition to a Granthi (a reader of the Granth). These five ministers called "Piārās" ("Beloved") being the five chosen adherents of the Guru, officiated at the ceremony.

The novice is directed to stand and constantly mutter the words *Wāh Guru* throughout the ritual. The five ministers and the Granthi then represent to the congregation that a candidate is desirous of entering the fold of Sikhism, and on a tacit assent being given the Granthi announces it by the exclamatory phrase :—

Sat Guru dé āgayā.

'The Sat Guru accords his assent.'

Prayers are offered, the spiritual presence of the Guru is invoked and the novice receives a benediction from the ministers. The five ministers assume a soldierly attitude in their posture, called "Bīrásan." The vessel containing water is held with both hands by one of the ministers, another pours in water, the third puts in the sugar and the fourth draws a sword and sits opposite the one holding the vessel.

The leading minister puts a double-edged dagger into the vessel and stirs the sugar. The mixture is kept astir unceasingly, while he is himself reciting the *Japji*, the *Jap Sahib*, *Chaupái* and *Swayyás*. He passes the dagger on to his fellow ministers who go through the same process; it then comes back to the minister-in-chief who manipulates it again as before and simultaneously recites the *Annand*. After this initial ceremony, all the five ministers stand up and offer a prayer. The minister-in-chief then begins the initiation with the following invocation:—

"O! Almighty, by Thy will the nectar of the double-edged sword hath been prepared, pour all Thy blessings on it and dwell Thou in the breast of the novice who stands in front of Thee; and who supplicates for its ministration to him; may he after taking it realise Thy presence, aspire to dwell under Thy holy feet and sacrifice himself at Thy door."

After this the Granthi again addresses the congregation whose general assent is announced in the same phrase as mentioned above.

Thereupon the five ministers approach the novice who is then required to repeat five times the *Mūl Mantra* (root principle), namely, the first stanza of the Japji. He is also instructed in the essentials of the Sikh creed, bows before the Granth Sahib and sits in a soldierly posture. Five palmfuls of the Amrit are doled out to him, receiving which in the palms of his hands, he repeats each time, at the bidding of the ministers, "Wāh Guru Ka Khālsa, Wāh Guru Ki Fateh." He then consecrates his sight by gazing at the principal minister who sprinkles (five times) the mixture over his face. Then the remainder of the liquid is given to the novice to drink. If more individuals than one are baptized together, the cup is passed from mouth to mouth to obliterate all scruples of caste.

Guru Gobind Singh's injunction was:—

Peo Pahul Kande Dhar,
Hoe Jahaṇ Sohela.

'Take the *Pahul* of the double-edged dagger, and thus bless thy life.'

Bhai Desa Singh, a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh, would not recognise any other kind of *Pahul* but the one above described.

This author of Guru Partap Sūrya says[1]:—

Khunde kí Pahul Jise so Shāstran dhar.

'Whoever has taken the *Pahul* of the double-edged sword must wear arms.'

In the ceremony we have described, it is necessary that the ministers and the novice must wear arms, which in these days are sometimes borrowed for temporary use, though I should think some emblems of steel often answer the purpose. The novice after his initiation is enjoined to wear indispensably the five *K's*: *Kes* (long hair), *Kachh* (short breeches), *Kripan* (sword), *Kara* (steel wristlet), *Kangha* (comb). The concluding part of the ceremony is the kneeling and offering obeisance to the

[1] Rut. V, Chap. 24.

Guru Granth Sahib; the novice is then declared a member of the Khalsa, and by way of spiritual re-birth is thenceforth to understand himself as the son of Guru Gobind Singh and Mata Sahib Dewan. The ritual is wound up by partaking of the *karah pershad*, which is too well known to require any description.

With regard to the addition of sugar to the water, the following episode is narrated. It is said that Gobind Singh originally intended to make use of pure water for the ceremony, and when preparing it, his wife, Mata Sahib Dewan, brought some *patashas* and mixed them in the water. The Guru is said to have remarked that he intended to make use of simple water stirred by a sword, to turn his Sikhs into a purely warlike race, but the Wah Guru ordained it otherwise. The sweetness added by a lady should have special significance, namely, that although his Sikh should be a soldier, yet he should always enjoy a loving and peaceful life at home; live at peace with his God, Guru and the world around; that he is only to fight defensively.[1]

There is a tradition connected with this episode. It is said that the Guru, by chance, spilt some of the Amrit he had prepared for his Sikhs, and the common birds drank it and began to quarrel. The Mata regarded this circumstance as ominous; fearing in her mind lest the Sikhs quarrel among themselves like the birds, she instantly ran to her husband with *patashas* and persuaded the Guru to mix them in the Amrit he was preparing.

It is perhaps not commonly known that Sikh females also receive the *Pahul*, but as Cunningham says, in their case the dagger employed is a single-edged one. This according to Sardar Sewa Ram Singh was a later development. Efforts are being made now to revive the use of the double-edged dagger which was originally used, it is said, even in the case of females.

Forster, quoted by Cunningham, refers apparently to the *Pahul* of Nanak's time.[2] He describes it as follows:—"The person desirous of becoming a member of the Sicque doctrine, is conducted into the presence of five or more of their people of any class or profession, assembled for the occasion; when one of them pours into the hollow of his hand a little water, which, being touched by the toe of the Sicques, the proselyte swallows, previously repeating the words—"Wah goorooji-ka-khalsah, wah goorooji-ka-futtah." After the performance of this obligation, a cup filled with sherbet is introduced, out of which he drinks five times, and repeats at intervals the aforementioned ejaculation."

There is to my mind no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement of the author who wrote his travels in 1790 and published them in 1808. It is clear that sherbet was used even in Guru Nanak's time.

Malcolm (*Sketch*, p. 182) mentions, *re* Gobind Singh's *Pahul*, an admonition not referred to either in Encyclopaedia Britannica or in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion, nor by Cunningham. This shows Guru Gobind's solicitude for his disciples in discouraging them to mix with certain classes of people.

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[1] *Guru Partap Surya*, by Santokh Singh

[2] Forster, *Travels*, I, p. 307.

"After this exclamation (Wah Guruji-ka-khalsa, Wah Guruji-ka-futtah) has been repeated five times they say, "This sherbet is nectar; it is the water of life; drink it." The disciple obeys: and some sherbet prepared in a similar manner is sprinkled over his head and beard. After these ceremonies the disciple is asked if he consents to be of the faith of Guru Gobind. He answers, 'I do consent.' He is then told, "If you do, you must abandon all intercourse and neither eat, drink, nor sit in company with men of five sects which I shall name.

The first the Mina Dhir-mal . . . ., the second Musandia, the third Ram Rayi . . . ., the fourth Kudimar . . . ., the fifth Bhadani . . . ."

I need not reproduce here the reasons given for eschewing the company of these five sects. The society of the first three was interdicted for certain political reasons, which held good then, but are now obsolete. The fourth sect meant infanticides, now under the ban of the British law. Aloofness from the fifth sect, which meant shavers of their heads, became gradually impracticable; the word now used instead, I am told, is Nari-mar, huqqa smokers, who too, owing to exigencies of mutual intercourse, are now tolerated.

[The author then discussed parallels to the Sikh *Pahul* to be found in other religious systems. For similarities of Sikh and Hindu initiations to Christian baptism and the fundamental difference in their symbolism he quoted the article on Baptism in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion. In the Zoroastrian system he referred to *Nanjot*, the initiation at 6 years and 3 months symbolised by the investiture with the sacred shirt and sacred thread of 12 strands. For the baptism (*abhisheka*) of a Buddhist *bhikshu* he quoted Lillie, *Buddhism in Christendom*, p. 80.

Then followed a description of Buddhist initiation in Burma, with its preparatory rules "Thin-kaya", procession, purificatory bath and the assumption of the yellow robe. Reference was made to pre-Christian baptism in Judaism in the Eleusinian, Isiac, Mithraic and other mystic rites of initiation. (Encyl. Brit. iii, p. 369). An account of the baptism by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (4th C.) was quoted to show the initiate partook of honey and milk. Armenian and other Eastern Christians bound two sacred threads on the neophyte. There is no baptism in Islam. Muslims in the 10th century joined in a river festival in Egypt and certain tanks were believed to possess healing properties. (Mitchell, Egyptian Calendar, p. 122). Syrian Muslims in the 13th century accepted baptism for bodily purification (Furlong, *Faiths of Man*, I, 250). For baptism among primitive tribes, *vide* Taylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 930; Hastings' Encycl. II, 410; and Furlong, I, 205, 216.

These references may enable the curious student to follow up a line of comparative study that lies somewhat outside the scope of this Journal].

Panjāb History in Oriental Journals of 1912-1914.

JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, NEW SERIES, VOL. VIII.

REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J. *Firoz Shāh's tunnels at Delhi* (*pp.* 279-281).

Father Hosten in Vol. VII of the Bengal Society's Journal first called attention to the mysterious tunnels which, according to various traditions, were dug by order of Firoz Shāh from the Jahānnumā to the Koṭila and from the Koṭila to Old Delhi, their total length being between five and seven *kos*. The learned author in his present paper adduces some further evidence not, it is true, for the existence of these tunnels, but for a widespread belief that they once did exist. Unfortunately traditions regarding underground passages in connection with ancient palaces, castles and the like are so common not only in the East, but even in the less imaginative West, that we may perhaps be pardoned for doubting, as long as we have not seen.

IBIDEM, VOL. IX.

PANDIT ANAND KOUL. *History of Kāśmīr. A brief account of Hasan, the historian of Kāśmīr* (*pp.* 195-203).

Under the above title we find a wonderful story about a wonderful book called Ratnākar Purāna, "containing the accounts of thirty-five kings who ruled in Kāśmīr five thousand years ago, and also of seven kings who ruled in Kāśmīr from the end of second to the beginning of sixth century of Christian era, which accounts were lost to history." In other words, the book in question—*mirabile dictu*—fills exactly two gaps in the well-known Sanskrit chronicle of the ancient kings of Kāśmīr—Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. "Ratnākar Purāna", we are further told, "had been discovered in the time of Zain-ul-ābdin (*sic*) who reigned in Kāśmīr from A.D. 1422 to 1474, and under his orders Mulah Ahmad, the poet laureate of his court, translated it into Persian. Ratnākar Purāna is now again untraceable, and on this account the above-mentioned translation is of immense importance."

Hasan, "the historian of Kāśmīr", found the Persian translation at a village called Pindori in the Rawalpindi district in the possession of a man named Mulah Muhmūd [why not *Maḥmūd*?]. "Returning to Kāśmīr he [Hasan the historian]

wrote a History of Kāśmīr of his own, in which he embodied the important facts he had found in Mulah Ahmad's History of Kāśmīr. This copy of Mulah Ahmad's History was subsequently lost by him in a flood in which his boat capsized, he being thrown into the water together with the book and rescued, but alas! without the book."

So far the adventures of the "Ratnākar Purāna." We can only express the hope, that, in case either the Sanskrit original, or the Persian translation, or the copy of the Persian translation should turn up again, people will be careful not to lose this invaluable book again.

Anyhow, we are indeed fortunate in having at least Hasan's "History", and in it the account of eight ancient kings of Kāśmīr, of whom Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī included only one—Raṇāditya—who is said in the chronicle to have reigned 300 years. "It is needless to remark", Pandit Anand Koul says, "that attributing such a longevity to a human being is simply extravagant. It was evidently intended to cover a great break of which no record of the succession of kings was forthcoming in the time of Kalhaṇa. Hasan, the author of the Persian History of Kāśmīr, however, says that Raṇāditya reigned for only 60 years and 3 months, which of course seems probable, and seven kings ruled, six preceding and one following him, whose accounts have been omitted in the Rājataraṅgiṇi."

Surely, we ought to be grateful in the extreme to Hasan, "the historian of Kāśmīr", and to Pandit Anand Koul for thus furnishing us with the history of seven lost kings of Kāśmīr. But there is something which makes us pause. "Hasan", we read, "gave a subtle touch of humour mingled with cunningness to his deeds as a priest." Did he, we are tempted to ask, did he extend the same "subtle touch" to his deeds as a historian? There are certainly strange touches in Hasan's History, as we find it reproduced here by Pandit Anand Koul, for instance the circumstance that about A.D. 300 under Gandharbsena (the third of the seven lost ones!) whose reign "was marked with slothfulness diversified with cruelty", "the chiefs in India, who were considering themselves under the suzerainty of the king of Kāśmīr, shook off his control."

Strange it is, that in his account of Raṇāditya, Hasan, the historian of Kāśmīr, seems to follow very closely the narrative of his great predecessor Kalhaṇa, and stranger still that Pandit Anand Koul in his turn, in rendering this passage, seems to follow the English translation by Sir Aurel Stein. Not *very* closely, it is true, not so closely as to raise any suspicion of plagiarism, yet closely enough to show that the Pandit had the English translation, let us say, before his mind's eye, when he wrote his article for the Bengal Society's Journal. It is refreshing to find Sir Aurel's great labours in elucidating the ancient history of Kāśmīr, acknowledged, be it in a somewhat uncommon manner!

But let the members of this Society judge for themselves by comparing the concluding portion of Kalhaṇa's account of Raṇāditya's reign with the corresponding passage according to Hasan, "the historian of Kāśmīr", as we find it reproduced in Pandit Anand Koul's article.

Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇi III, 465-471, *according to Sir M. A. Stein's version.*	*"Hasan" as reproduced by Pandit Anand Koul (Jl. and Proc. As. Soc. of Bengal, vol. IX, p.* 202).
466. That goddess (Raṇārambhā) once granted to the king who was devoted to her and full of sympathy, the magic spell [called] Hāṭakeśvara, which gave command over the under-world.	Raṇā-rambhā had given the king a magic spell, called Hāṭakeśvara, which gave him command over the Netherlands (*sic.*).
467. After undergoing severe austerities at Iṣṭikāpatha, he went to Nandiśilā and had the benefit of the magic power of the spell during many years [Stein in a footnote refers to "the modern hamlet of Rāmarādan . . . . from which the ascent on the Haramukuṭa pilgrimage begins"].	The king performed severe austerities at Iṣṭikāpatha (Rāmarādan, from which the ascent to the Gangabal pilgrimage begins) and then went to Nandiśilā (Nund-kol lake).
468. Gathering unbroken confidence from dreams and supernatural marks, he proceeded to the cave of [the demon] Namuci after passing through the water of the Candrabhāgā.	Afterwards he entered the cave of Namuchi (Namcibal, near the 3rd bridge in Srinagar) together with his retinue.
471. When the king with his retinue had gone to the company of the Daitya-women, that queen who was Viṣṇu's Śakti, went to the 'White Island' (Śvetadvīpa).	There he remained in company with a Daityā woman and never came out. Meanwhile Ranārambhā went away to Sveta-dvīpa (White Island), probably the small Island called Rupalank or Silver Island in the Dal lake.

The identifications of the localities mentioned in ślokas 468 and 471 must be Pandit Anand Koul's!

IBIDEM, VOL. X.

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA SATIS CHANDRA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA, M.A., PH.D. *The localisation of certain hymns of the Ṛigveda* (*pp*. 43-45).

Any student of Vedic civilisation will be familiar with Heinrich Zimmer's 'Altindisches Leben' which, though published as far back as the year 1879, may still be considered the standard work on everything pertaining to the life of the Indo-Aryans during the Vedic period. In it the author discusses at great length the question of the home of the Vedic Aryans and arrives at the conclusion that it must have been the Land of the Five Rivers. This view has been generally accepted, though some authorities like Professor Washburn Hopkins have proposed to modify it only so far as to assume "that only the older hymns were composed in the Panjāb itself,

while the rest arose in the sacred region near the Sarasvatī, south of the modern Ambala, where all the conditions required by the Ṛigveda are found." [1] Mr. Vidyābhūsaṇa, in his above-quoted article, treats us to a novel theory. "It is generally held", he says, "that the hymns of the Ṛigveda were composed while the Aryans, in the course of their south-eastern journey, still lingered in Eastern Kabul and the Punjab. We must modify this theory in the light of some verses of the Ṛigveda which refer to the old kingdom of Videha comprising the modern district of Darbhāngā."

One wonders what weighty arguments the learned author will adduce in support of a statement as startling as coolly proposed, which goes not only against received opinion, but indeed against the accumulative evidence of the hymns themselves. What are these arguments? The author quotes a verse from the Ṛigveda (1,85,11) which relates how the Maruts (the storm-gods) brought a crooked well to refresh the thirsty sage Gautama with its water! He proceeds to tell us that 28 miles north-east of the modern town of Darbhanga in Behar, he has chanced upon a well called Gotama-kuṇḍa. Whether it was crooked he does not mention, but we are led to infer it. For the author assures us that the natural well of the Vedic verse tallies accurately with the actual well. Besides, there is the name 'Gotama-kuṇḍa.' Who could doubt the identity of the two? Certainly not the Mahāmahopādhyāya, who noticed beside his well "a mud-hill called Gotama-sthāna", evidently the place where Gotama of the vedic verse resided. The unchangeable East, indeed! A well—and moreover, a crooked one—still on the exact spot where the Maruts brought it thirty-five (or if you like, sixty or more) centuries ago. In the West, unfortunately, things are more liable to change and no serious person, when confronted by an ancient tree locally known as 'Bill's oak' would jump at the conclusion that it was necessarily planted by William Shakespeare.

Anyhow, we hope not to be accused of an undue *penchant* for the Land of the Five Rivers, if we still continue to look on the Panjāb as the true home of the Ṛig-vedic Aryans, even after Mr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's revelations.

H. BEVERIDGE, *Sirhind or Sehrind* (*pp.* 281-282).

Mr. Beveridge opposes the view expressed in the Imperial Gazetteer (XXIII, 20) "that the spelling Sirhind is modern and due to a fanciful derivation." He points out that this name, meaning "the Head of India", must date back to the time of the G͟haznavī princes when Sirhind was the frontier-town of their empire towards the East. According to K͟hāfī K͟hān the name was changed into Sehrind by order of S͟hāh Jahān as then, of course, the old designation was no longer applicable.

MEMOIRS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL. III.

Rāmacarita by Sandhyākara Nandi, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hāraprasād Śāstrī, M.A. (*No* 1, *pp.* 1-56).

Historical works in Sanskrit are of so rare occurrence, that their scarcity alone would justify us in drawing attention to the *Rāmacarita* or Life of King Rāmapāla of

[1] A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900, p. 145.

Bengal, discovered and edited for the first time by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī. By rescuing this work from oblivion, the distinguished editor has rendered no small service to his native country and to historical research. King Rāma, whose deeds are told in the Rāmacarita, belonged to the well-known Pāla dynasty of Gauḍa (Bengal). As the author proves, with the aid of epigraphical records, the second king of this dynasty, named Dharmapāla, must have reigned between A.D. 783 and 817. Of this prince it is stated that he made himself master of Northern India, including the Panjāb (Madra), so that about the year 800 he had imperial sway over the whole of Aryāvarta. Rāmapāla, the hero of the Rāmacarita, reigned about A.D. 1100 not very long before Madamapāla, with the close of whose reign (A.D. 1119) the Pāla dynasty of Bengal came to an end.

The *Rāmacarita* is a *kāvya* of the type of the *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya*. Throughout it can be understood in two ways, either as referring to Rāma, the ancient hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, or to Rāma, the Pāla king of Bengal. Needless to say that this *tour de force* (of which probably no instance exists in any other literature of the world) does not tend to produce great lucidity. All the greater is our debt of gratitude to the learned editor.

Jesuit letters and allied papers on Mogor, Tibet, Bengal and Burma, edited by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. Part I, Mongolicae legationis commentarius, or the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar, by Fr. Anthony Monserrate, S.J.

(*No.* 9, *pp.* 515-704.)

Monserrate's account of the first Jesuit Mission to Emperor Akbar under Blessed Rudolf Aquaviva (1580-1583) is published here for the first time in the Latin original. It contains not a little which will interest members of this Society, as we find in it an itinerary of Akbar's expedition in pursuit of Mīrzā Hakīm from Delhi by way of Thānēsar, Sirhind, Kalānaur, Rohtās to Peshāwar, and thence via Jalālābād. That Fr. Monserrate in his account pays special attention to religious subjects, will be no matter of surprise. But apart from that, there is a good deal which he found worth recording. Let me only say, that in Father Monserrate's itinerary we find what is probably the first mention by a European author of one of the most ancient monuments of the Panjāb, the *Stūpa* or Tope of Manikyālā, the next one being that by Elphinstone in his "Kaubul." At least, it seems plausible to recognize this monument in the "obelisk" described by our author at some length (p. 599), the more so as in another "obelisk" noticed by him in the Khaibar Pass (p. 641) we cannot see anything but a similar Buddhist tope, which still exists beyond 'Alī Masjid. Strange it is, that these two "obelisks" were supposed to mark the boundaries of Rām Chandra's realm, for what Hindu would be ignorant of the tradition that Rāma's capital was Ayodhyā on the bank of the Sarayū. Possibly the learned Jesuit had misunderstood his Indian informant, when the latter referred in reality not to Rāma, but to Rāma's younger brother Bharata, who, if we are to believe Vālmīki (*Rām.* VII, 100-101) founded a kingdom on both sides of the Indus together with the two

chief cities Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvatī named after Bharata's sons Taksha and Pushkala.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR 1914.

Among the twenty-nine articles and numerous miscellaneous communications which make up the Royal Asiatic Society's volume for 1914, there are none which relate strictly speaking to the history of the Panjāb. There are, however, a few which are likely to interest students of Indian history and which may be briefly noted here.

There is, in the first place, the great question of the date of Kanishka, the well-known ruler of the Kushāṇ dynasty, who counted the Land of the five Rivers among his dominions. It will be remembered that in the preceding year under the auspices of the London Society a learned discussion took place, in which Dr. J. F. Fleet and Dr. F. W. Thomas were the most prominent champions. The former firmly holds the view that Kanishka's accession marks the beginning of the so-called era of Vikramāditya, whereas, according to Dr. Thomas, it was about the commencement of the Saka era that Kanishka began to reign. Both parties have not failed to bring every argument in the field, and it is not a little disappointing to find that still such a divergence of opinion can subsist on a question of the first importance for Indian history. One is necessarily led to the inference that the materials at our disposal are insufficient to solve the question satisfactorily. It is, therefore, a matter of gratification that Dr. (now Sir) J. H. Marshall has succeeded in extracting fresh evidence from the ancient soil of Takshaśilā. In his paper on "The Date of Kanishka"—the last of the series for 1914—Dr. Marshall sums up his conclusions in the following sentence: "Some discoveries which I have recently made at Taxila throw, I think, fresh light on this question, and, though they do not settle precisely the date of Kanishka, appear to prove that he was not at any rate the founder of the era of 58 B.C. and could not have come to the throne until the close of the first century A.D. or later."

A closely allied question is discussed by the Russian Orientalist, Baron A. de Staël-Holstein, in his paper "Was there a Kushāṇa race?"—a query which the author proceeds to answer in the negative. The correct name of the warlike race that gave Kanishka to the Buddhist world, so he says, is *Kusha* not *Kushāṇa*.

This theory is opposed by Dr. Fleet at considerable length and with his usual thoroughness. In the first place he draws attention to one of the inscriptions discovered in March, 1912, by Pt. Radha Krishna, R.B., at the village of Māṭ near Muttra (Mathura). This inscription is incised on the base of a more than life-size statue of some royal personage, evidently belonging to Kanishka's race. The personal name of this king is unfortunately lost, owing to the stone being damaged. The titles, however, preceding the name are quite clear. They read: *Mahārājo Rājātirājo Devaputro Kushāṇaputro*. In view of this '*Kushāṇaputro*' it seems indeed impossible to adopt the *Kusha* theory of Baron de Staël Holstein.

Finally attention may be drawn to a fresh treatment by Mr. J. E. Pargiter of the stone inscription of Manikiala which had been previously discussed by M. Senart

and by Professor Lüders. That these so well qualified scholars in studying a record like the present can arrive at in many respects divergent conclusions, proves the great difficulty besetting the interpretation of Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Mr. Pargiter notes as one of his chief results that the author of this inscription was not a Buddhist but a Zoroastrian. "It is highly improbable then", he says, "that the stone can record the dedication of any Buddhist memorial, and the co-operation of a Zoroastrian donor with a Buddhist abbot suggests that the benefaction commemorated was something non-religious."

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, VOL. 68.

VINCENT A. SMITH. *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, pp.* 329-344.

A few years ago the well-known Egyptologist, Professor Flinders Petrie, in a book treating of *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity*, found occasion to discuss the "general credibility" of the account of Apollonius of Tyana's Indian Travels given by Philostratus, and in the course of his treatment arrived at the conclusion that, "we have here a genuine history correctly transmitted." On account of this conclusion so contrary to received opinion, Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the well-known author of the *Early History of India*, has thought it necessary to re-examine the whole question, "concerning the credibility of the work by Philostratus and, more particularly, concerning the degree of credence, if any, to be given to his description of the visit to the Indian sages and the details recorded by him of the condition of the country and the nature of the monuments alleged to have existed and to have been seen by the traveller."

Mr. Vincent Smith has accomplished his self-imposed task with his usual accuracy and thoroughness. In reading his paper which has appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society (Mr. Smith's article is in English), one cannot escape the conviction that Professor Petrie might have chosen a better cause to champion than the historicity of a narrative so bristling with absurdities. The circumstance alone that some of the localities mentioned in Apollonius' itinerary actually do exist in India is surely insufficient to lend credibility to his whole account and cannot blind us to its generally fantastical character. It would rather strengthen our suspicion to find such well-known geographical names mentioned as Taxila and the rivers Hydraotes (Rāvī) and Hyphasis (Biās)—names which since Alexander's campaign had become familiar in the whole Hellenistic world. The fact too that in the first half of the first century A.D. the Land of the Five Rivers was governed by Parthian princes was not unknown in the West. But what are we to think of other particulars in the account of Apollonius' wanderings through India? After crossing the river Indus in which numerous hippopotami were noticed, he entered the dominions of a king who was credited with sacrificing bulls and black horses to that same river. At Taxila which he reached next, Apollonius saw a wonderful temple which contained tablets of bronze let into each wall, depicting the feats of Porus and Alexander—just the kind of thing which a Greek in the West would have imagined he *might* see at Taxila, and which most

certainly he would not have seen there, had he actually visited that place. Besides, the Taxila of Apollonius boasted another temple dedicated to the sun and enshrining effigies of Alexander in gold, and of Porus in black bronze. This second temple contained a still more palpable memento of Alexander's Indian campaign in the shape of "the sacred elephant Ajax (*sic*) which had fought for Porus about 350 years earlier and was still alive and kept in that temple." Most people will agree with Mr. Vincent Smith that here the author "imposes too great a strain on our credulity. The same may be said about the royal banquet at which the guests were treated to a menu of "fish, birds, whole lions, gazelles, swine and tiger hams." After leaving Taxila they were naturally anxious to view the battle-field where Alexander had defeated Porus. It was marked by triumphal arches or gates surmounted by statues of both kings. When, having crossed the Hydraotes, they approached the Hyphasis, they came upon the altars set up by Alexander to mark the limit of his advance. Those mysterious altars of Alexander actually must once have existed if we are to believe the testimony of Arrian and other Greek authors, and traces of them may still exist. Mr. Vincent Smith notes in passing that "a member of the Civil Service of India now serving in the Panjab has set himself the task of searching for them."

So far the itinerary of Apollonius is unobjectionable, at least from a topographical point of view. This is hardly a great merit, considering that it closely follows the route of Alexander's campaign. But after the passage of the Hyphasis all kind of guidance failing, the account of Apollonius' wanderings becomes confused in the highest degree. He crosses the pepper mountains which run down from the Indian Caucasus to the Arabian Sea, and therefrom descends into a wide plain intersected with canals derived from the Ganges. Here he personally assists at a dragon hunt and then after crossing a rich and well-cultivated country he approaches the castle of the sages. The account of the sages and their abode, Mr. Vincent Smith observes, "is mostly of the nature of a fairy tale." The sages themselves are more Greek than Indian.

It will be hardly necessary to follow Apollonius of Tyana on his journey home. What has been quoted above will suffice to make it quite evident that the Indian Travels of Apollonius, or rather the source from which they have been derived, is nothing but a literary fiction. In this point most people will heartily agree with Mr. Vincent Smith. We only wonder on what grounds the learned author—after having arrived at this conclusion—still accepts the journey of Apollonius to Babylon and India as a fact.

V.

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